

THE GUARDIAN

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NEWS IN BRIEF

Councils' money 'wasted'

THE Audit Commission is about to produce a crushing indictment of the way in which muddled and changing government controls on councils' capital investment have caused huge sums of public money to be wasted. Back page.

Parents' action

A GROUP of parents plan to enter a school today to watch for any action against pupils who took part in a strike against their allegedly racist headmaster. Page 3.

Jobs task force

MRS THATCHER has established a taskforce of ministers to lead Britain's small business sector to US-style success in creating jobs. Report, back page; industry told to invest in new technology, page 19.

Premier resigns



PRESIDENT Constantine Karamanlis (above), who urged Greece back to democracy from military dictatorship, resigned yesterday in the face of socialist opposition. Page 6.

Rush's trouble

IAN RUSH scored a surprise victory in the Cup semi-finals at Wembley 4-0 yesterday. Report, page 24.

Media flood

DROUGHT-STRIKEN Sudan now faces an unwelcome flood of journalists. Media, page 13; UN asks \$4.4 billion for Africa, page 9.

NUM 'broke'

THE NUM is effectively broke after borrowing against assets seized abroad by its president, Mr Arthur Scargill, said yesterday. Report back page; Labour demands sackings in NUM, page 4; Letters, page 12.

Extreme success

FRANCE's extreme right-wing National Front party won over 8 per cent of the vote in the first round of national elections today, according to computer estimates which also gave the main opposition parties almost 50 per cent. Page 6.

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The weather

DRY with sunny periods. Details, back page.

THE GUARDIAN IN EUROPE	
Austria	100 p
Belgium	100 p
Denmark	100 p
France	100 p
Germany	100 p
Italy	100 p
Netherlands	100 p
Spain	100 p
Sweden	100 p
Switzerland	100 p

Lebanon suicide attacker rams military convoy inside border

Revenge bomber kills 12 Israelis

From Julie Flint in Beirut

The Lebanese resistance yesterday demonstrated its vitality with a car bomb attack that killed 12 Israeli soldiers only a few hundred yards inside the international border at Metulla. At least 14 other Israelis were wounded, some critically.

It was Israel's darkest day in southern Lebanon since November 4, 1983, when a car bomb attack claimed the lives of 29 Israeli soldiers at the army's headquarters in Tyre.

No Israelis have died this close to the border, well inside the enclave controlled by Israel, since 1981. "We had a very bad day today," the Prime Minister, Mr Peres, told

which last month introduced draconian measures — including a ban on cars without passengers — precisely to limit the likelihood of car bomb attacks.

The Israeli command said yesterday's attack took place 400 yards inside the border, at a fork in the road — the place where land mines killed two Israelis exactly a month ago.

The car bomber, reported here to have been travelling alone in defiance of the Israeli ban, drove straight into a military convoy and exploded on impact with an open-sided troop truck. The truck went up in flames, killing several men instantly. Others suffered burns as the blaze spread to adjacent vehicles.

Survivors began firing in all directions — for almost half an hour, according to one report — until helicopters arrived to fly the wounded to hospitals in northern Israel.

The attack came at the end of a weekend that saw a new escalation in the trial of strength in southern Lebanon, with resistance fighters using mortars and Israeli troops responding more violently than ever before — with tanks and heavy artillery.

After an overnight attack that wounded five Israeli soldiers near the Qana bridge over the Litani River, Israeli tanks on Saturday shelled four Lebanese villages, killing a teenage boy. Troops were also sent to the area.

Further than encourage the withdrawal from southern Lebanon, the latest Israeli casualties are expected to provoke a new escalation in the south.

In Beirut, the Mr al-Abed bombing threats to put new muscle into Shiite fundamentalism, which seems to be growing stronger daily. The bomb exploded only yards from the home of the fundamentalist leader, Sheikh Muhammad Fadallah, who was unharmed.

Saturday's funeral demonstration, attended by many thousands of angry mourners, turned quickly into an anti-American, anti-Israeli march, with shouts of "death to America" and "death to Israel" and "death to Gennayel".

HUNDREDS of people were killed or injured yesterday when Iraqi jets and missiles attacked eight towns deep inside Iran. The Iraqis also claimed to have hit a tanker near the Kuwaiti oil terminal at Kharg Island.

Report, page 8

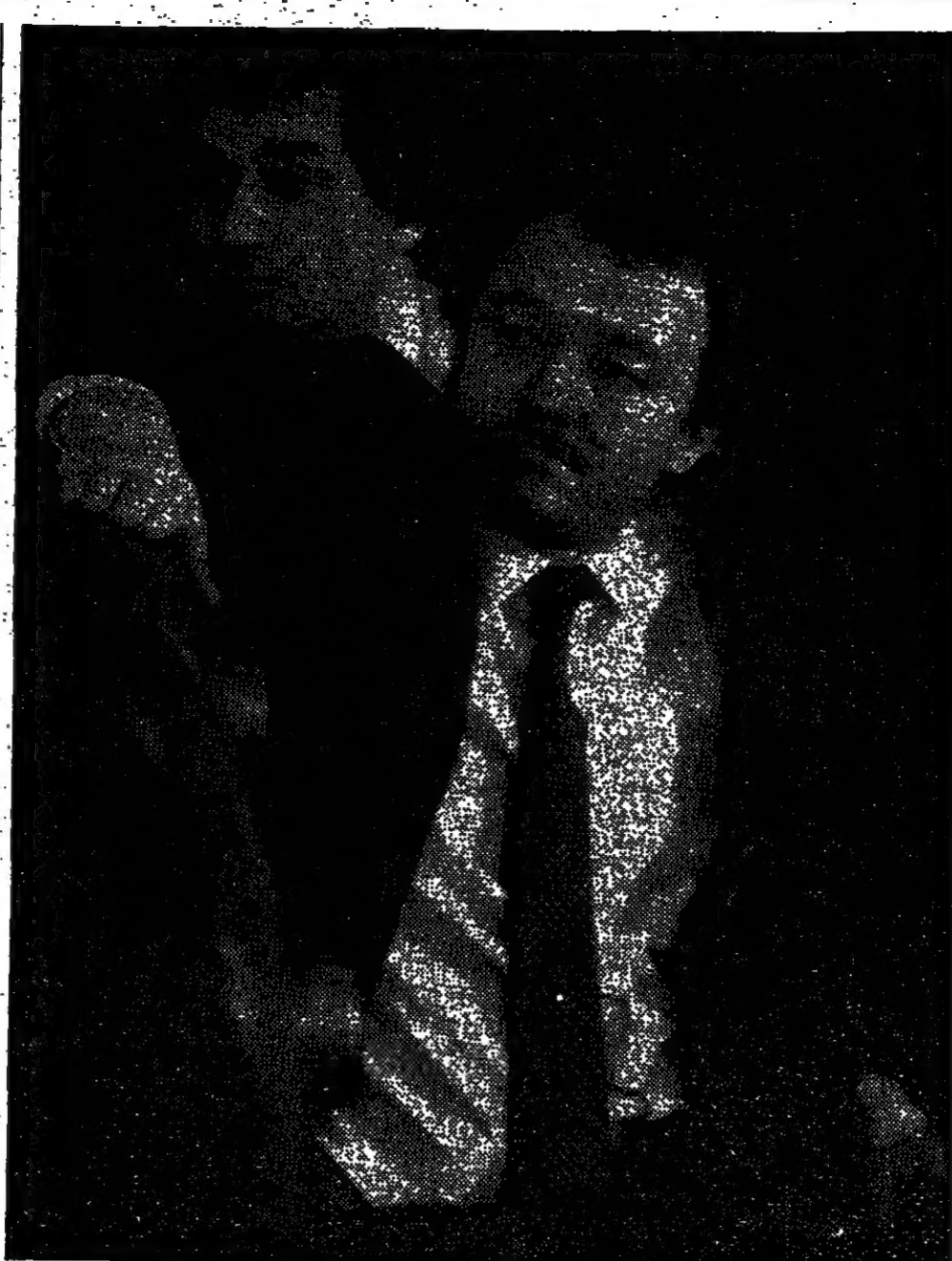
A Jerusalem meeting of women from East Brith.

An anonymous telephone caller told a Beirut radio station the Voice of Free Lebanon that he had information about the whereabouts of a missing Israeli soldier.

Another caller told a Western news agency: "We speak to our agency, Shikma, from the use of the best fact against our people, with the statistics and faithful list of Hussein, the grandson of Muhammad."

Although Israel has vehemently denied any hand in the bombing, it has failed to convince the majority of Lebanese, and on Saturday the Shiite movement, Amal, promised a "commemorative reply."

Despite this warning, the speed of the reply must have been profoundly shocking to Israel, which is on its way out of southern Lebanon, and



Mr Ken Livingstone in quizzical posture during the rate debate. Picture by Martin Argles

GLC votes for cuts as Labour group splits

By John Carvel, Local Government Correspondent

GLC members voted yesterday to accept a budget which would cut rates by 15 per cent, a move which would mean the council would be in breach of the law for failure to set a rate in time.

The council passed a budget package proposed by a Labour rightwinger, Mr Barry Stead.

This cut the rate from the maximum of 36p in the pound to just over 34p and included £11 million of spending cuts. About 15 members of the Labour right joined with the Tories and Alliance to put this budget through. Mr Livingstone voted against the proposal, alongside Mr McDonnell.

He would not, however, carry on if cuts had to be made to provide a veneer of respectability for loss of jobs or services.

Mr Livingstone's budget proposal was the fourth attempt by the majority Labour group to move a package which would have salvaged some spending growth out of the rate-capping misadventure.

On Friday, Mr Livingstone had backed these estimates but voted against the legal maximum rate of 36p in the pound.

Turn to back page, col. 3

Then, within seconds of the 11pm deadline after which councillors would have been outside the law for failure to set a rate in time, the council passed a budget package proposed by a Labour rightwinger, Mr Barry Stead.

He pointed out that the budget which had just been passed provided £50 million less income than he had wanted. To escape cuts it would therefore be necessary to run a deficit budget. He would stay in the leadership, to move a package which would have salvaged some spending growth out of the rate-capping misadventure.

Mr Livingstone said after the vote: "Labour will now go forward in comradeship and friendship to ensure that the pledge to conference is fulfilled and that there are no cuts in jobs and services while the majority here is a Labour one."

Sigh of relief as talks resume

From Hella Piek in Geneva

Soviet and American negotiators are back in Geneva at last, after a 15-month gap which constituted the most serious interruption in the long series of arms control talks between the superpowers going back to the 1960s.

The world has come to regard such talks as, at best, capable of producing agreements which reduce the chances of war, and, at worst, as at least some kind of indication that relations between Washington and Moscow have not degenerated into open hostility.

So the arrival here over the weekend of the chief US negotiator, Mr Max Kampelman, his Soviet opposite number, Mr Viktor Karpov, and their respective teams, has been the signal for an international sigh of relief.

The chances of any kind of breakthrough in the talks which resume today are seen as ranging from slim to nil by

most experts. The already considerable differences between the two sides — differences which led to the then two-tier talks on strategic and intermediate range weapons in 1983 — have been further exacerbated.

Genesis of Geneva's fresh start and other reports, page 8; When war came to Geneva, page 17; Agenda, page 18.

by American determination to go ahead with space-based defensive systems.

Indeed, the Americans have elevated Star Wars into a central principle of a "new" approach to arms control — an approach which the Russians have repudiated in advance at every possible opportunity.

Mr Karpov yesterday spoke of the "truly historic goal" of ultimately eliminating nuclear arms completely and everywhere. But the Russians yesterday also issued further

warnings that the Star Wars programme was "an aggressive move and a major obstacle to progress in Geneva."

Mr Kampelman, in his arrival statement, said that the US "would spare no effort to negotiate fair and equitable agreements," but he also emphasised that "differences on nuclear issues are deep and deeply held."

Meanwhile the US Administration is turning the opening of the arms control marathon into a grand bipartisan affair, designed to win support both for the President's MX missile programme and for his dreams of space weapons.

One plane-load of influential senators arrived on Friday shortly after Mr Kampelman and a second plane has brought a group from the House of Representatives.

Vice-President Bush has also contrived to be present, although his ostensible reason for coming to Geneva is to

Doubts cast on Murdoch paper plan

By David Hearst

Plans by Mr Rupert Murdoch, chairman of News International, to launch a second London evening newspaper after this year, were treated with scepticism by the rest of Fleet Street yesterday.

The newspaper, a tabloid called the Post, would be printed at News International's new plant in Tower Hamlets, east London, which is due to open in October. Confirming a Sunday newspaper report, Mr Murdoch would say only that the new paper could eventually become a 24-hour operation, publishing as a London evening and a national daily the next morning.

Mr Charles Wilson, deputy editor of the Times, would be the Post's editorial director, according to the report.

Mr Robert Maxwell, owner of Mirror Group Newspapers, whose own plans for a second London evening paper have gone into abeyance, reacted by accusing Mr Murdoch of being behind plans by Mr Eddie Sheldrake, a London Evening Group of free-sheet newspapers, to launch a national daily.

Mr Maxwell said his own plans to launch a London evening free-sheet were "continuing," but he added that his first priority was to introduce colour printing in MGN's English titles this year. He said MGN would not be rushed into launching the new plant in east London.

Mr Keys said: "There is no question of going on to new premises without a realistic

Shake-up of MI5 methods 'in the offing'

By Ian Aitken, Political Editor

Heavy hints were being dropped in Whitehall yesterday that there may be a shakeup in security surveillance procedures at MI5 — but that they will be the consequence of a secret report on last year's Bettaney spy fiasco rather than as a result of Ms Cathy Massiter's televised allegations of abuses.

This response to the mounting pressure, from Tory as well as Labour MPs, for some kind of switch on the watchers' probation reflects the continuing embarrassment of ministers as well as officials over recent revelations.

Signs are that there is a growing awareness that something will have to be done to calm public anxiety. Ministers are deeply reluctant to be seen responding to what they regard as a gross breach of duty and trust by Ms Massiter.

There have already been suggestions that Ms Massiter's decision to reveal her reservations about MI5 procedures on Channel 4's 20/20 Vision programme was motivated by a strong personal sympathy for Mr Michael Bettaney, the MI5 agent who was gaoled last year for trying to pass secrets to the Russians.

Mr Bettaney said in his own defence that he decided to make the attempt because he was concerned about some of the methods of MI5. Now a full report on the case, drawn up by Lord Bridge and his security commission, is in the hands of the Prime Minister.

Ms Thatcher has yet to complete her study of the report but Whitehall is confidently expecting that she and her ministerial colleagues will insist on major changes in the procedures of the counter-intelligence service, to ensure that nothing like the Bettaney case can occur again.

Any changes emerging from the Bettaney affair which was a grave humiliation for MI5 are highly unlikely to meet the demand for greater accountability emerging from the Massiter case.

There is not much evidence that ministers have any intention of meeting the demand for some kind of accountability by the security services, either through Parliament or through the Privy Council.

The clamour is likely to continue at Westminster, and yesterday the shadow home secretary, Mr Gerald Kaufman, repeated it on television. Commenting on Friday night's screening of the 20/20 Vision programme, which followed the lifting of the IRA ban on it, he called for an immediate inquiry into the allegations it contained.

Out of Court, page 18

This week

Today

TIMBUKTU

But, said Terry Coleman to the Duke of Edinburgh, the principal species about which we were talking was man, wasn't it? "Speak for yourself," replied the Duke in an interchange during the prince's Africa tour for the World Wildlife Fund. Page 17

TEBBITRY

By comparison with him, writes Hugo Young, Mr Heseltine looks rather like Thomas Jefferson and Mr Walker could even be Aristotle. The full frontal alter-Thatcher and his battle-plan for winning is exposed on page 12

ETHNIC MONITOR

Parliamentary questions have recently established that the Government has decreed 'ethnic monitoring' throughout the civil service. Enoch Powell examines the consequences.

TEA CEREMONY

How Lord Young found mixed blessings on his tour of China. Page 17

GLITZ

The Dickens from Detroit hits the jackpot. Arts Guardian, page 11

Tomorrow

LABOUR PAINS

As many as four out of five youngsters go to work as well as school. But who cares for their interests? Education Guardian investigates

SKILLS FOR LIVING

Being male doesn't mean being macho. Guardian Women on boys in a non-sexist world

Wednesday

FAMILY SECRETS

Sexual abuse of children is no longer the best-kept secret. Society Tomorrow examines new evidence

Thursday

CRIMINAL CLASSES

Guardian Women seeks clues from P. D. James, the Queen of Crime

Genetic 'print' that could point the finger

By Andrew Veltch, Medical Correspondent

Scientists have discovered a method of identifying people by a genetic "fingerprint" so precise it can tell you who your father is.

For the police, it could mark the biggest advance in detection of crime since the discovery of fingerprints in 1901. The method could be used to identify the genes in a drop of blood, rapists from the DNA in a single sperm.

But the most important benefit could be in the detection of inherited diseases such as sickle cell anaemia. The process of finding the genes responsible for diseases, and enable scientists to track carriers and sufferers

through the generations. The discovery has been made by Dr Alec Jeffreys and his team at Leicester University and the Medical Research Council's unit at the John Radcliffe Hospital, Oxford. They have discovered a segment of genetic material which can be used as a probe to detect these minuscule differences. He explained: "We use the probe to split up the genes and generate a pattern of bands which we print on an X-ray film. This pattern is highly specific to an individual. You can tell people apart from the pattern on the film."

The team tested the technique on 14 unrelated British Caucasians. It worked: they identified each individual. It turns out that the minuscule differences are inherited in a reasonably orderly fashion.

are immense. To all intents, that combination is as unique as a fingerprint.

Dr Jeffreys, with Mrs Victoria Wilson, and Dr Sue Laythorn at Oxford, has discovered a segment of genetic material which can be used as a probe to detect these minuscule differences. He explained: "We use the probe to split up the genes and generate a pattern of bands which we print on an X-ray film. This pattern is highly specific to an individual. You can tell people apart from the pattern on the film."

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approximately half each from an individual's mother and father.

So the team tested blood samples from an extended Indian Gujarati family — 54 people spanning four generations. The probe was so powerful they were able to distinguish every individual, even the children of a first-cousin marriage. And they were able to trace the fragments of DNA back from child to parent (either parent) and in turn to the grandparents.

This should provide the ultimate solution for paternity suits. But Dr Jeffreys, reader in genetics at Leicester, is more interested in the medical and forensic applications.

Markers for the genes that cause Huntington's disease

(presenile dementia) and muscular dystrophy are already being developed. Pregnant mothers who fear their babies may be at risk will soon be able to take prenatal tests and opt for termination.

No one has yet found a marker for the genes that cause cystic fibrosis, and a host of other inherited disorders. "This discovery gives us a powerful tool for looking for these genes, it will accelerate the hunt," said Dr Jeffreys.

Other possible applications of the discovery remain confidential. Dr Jeffreys is patenting the work, which will be developed commercially through the National Research Development Corporation.

SUDDENLY MY MEMORY FAILED ME!

A WELL-KNOWN publisher reports that there is a simple technique for acquiring a powerful memory which can pay you real dividends in both business and social advancement. It works like magic to give you added poise, self-confidence and greater popularity.

The details of this method are described in his fascinating book "Adventures in Memory", sent free on request.

Influence

According to this publisher, many people do not realise how much they can influence others simply by remembering accurately everything they see, hear or read. Whether in business,

at social functions, or even in casual conversation with new acquaintances, there are ways in which you can dominate each situation simply by your ability to remember.

For example, you need never forget another appointment — ever! You can learn names, faces, facts, figures and foreign languages faster than you ever thought possible. Whole books and plays will be indelibly imprinted on your memory after a single reading. You'll be more successful in your studies and examinations. At parties and dinners you will never again be at a loss for appropriate words or entertaining stories. In fact, you will be more poised and self-confident in everything you say and do. These are only a few of the ways in which you will benefit by possessing a trained memory.

Free

To acquaint more readers of The Guardian with the easy-to-follow rules for developing skill in remembering, we, the publishers, have printed full details of this interesting self-training method in a fascinating book, "Adventures in Memory", sent free to anyone who requests it. No obligation. No salesman will call. Simply fill in and return the coupon on Page 8 (you don't even need to stamp your envelope), or send your name and address to: Memory and Concentration Studies, (Dept. MCM9), FREEPOST, Bowden Hall, Marple, Stockport.

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No official backing for Tory MP's attack on archbishop

Runcie reinforces demand for new strategy in cities

By Martin Halsall
and Ian Aitken

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, yesterday defended his latest excursion into politics, which included a call for a new strategy on inner city dereliction and criticism of government training schemes.

Dr Runcie faced criticism from some Conservative MPs last week when he compared "the darkness of disease, death and disaster" in Britain's inner cities to the tragedy of Ethiopia. "I don't think any member of the Government would deny that there is darkness in the inner cities," he said on BBC Radio 4 yesterday.

He said he regretted that church leaders were not always able to speak easily "with those who manage power".

He added: "But on the other hand, there is a need for them, I believe, to engage in a serious and unsentimental debate about what sort of a society we are creating. Sometimes, the impression is conveyed that what matters is the bottom line of the balance sheet."

Mr Ray Whitney, the aggressively rightwing junior minister for social security, who was most critical, was in trouble again yesterday for his outburst at the Archbishop. Colleagues from the Prime Minister's office seemed determined to dissociate themselves from his attack.

Speaking on Saturday in Newcastle upon Tyne, where he was ordained 35 years ago, Mr Runcie said that Britain needed "a new strategy in which local and central government together do more to recreate inner city environments on a human scale."

Improvements should include more gardens and children's play areas and better organisation of council housing repairs. Universal home ownership was still far distant he said. "In any case, self-reliance and responsibility are not virtues which can only be successfully cultivated by owners of property."

The inner cities needed long-term projects and hopes, including adequate education and training schemes, more than "just a temporary spell of sweated labour," he said. His Commission on Urban Priority Areas, due to report in autumn, had produced a gloomy rather than hopeful picture of Tyne-side, he said.

"Indeed, the situation here — of de-industrialisation, poverty, population loss and the

growth of endemic, large-scale and long-term unemployment — is a microcosm of much of Britain as a whole."

The text of Mr Whitney's attack on Archbishop Runcie was circulated to Fleet Street newspapers at the weekend by Tory Central Office, printed on official Conservative Party paper.

Most of its seven closely-typed foolscap pages had nothing to do with the archbishop, but the opening paragraph of the speech, addressed appropriately to the Worcester Diocesan Synod on Saturday afternoon, sought to raise the question of whether the Church had the right to enter the political arena.

Mr Whitney declared his belief that the Church had such a right — always provided it was exercised with care.

He said: "Whether we are archbishops, bishops, clergy or laity, our contribution should be based on a proper regard for the facts — and as many of the facts as we can encounter — rather than merely those which suit our purpose. I have to say that, sadly, the facts are all too often treated with scant regard in discussions on social security issues."

He went on to make it clear that he had the archbishop in mind, particularly for his remarks at the St Paul's Cathedral service last week. That, said Mr Whitney, was "generally perceived to be a deliberate attack on the government of the day."

But it was also seen as a distortion of the realities of contemporary Britain "in a way which only the most extreme of political activists would dare." It also ignored some of the fundamental elements of Christian belief, Mr Whitney added.

Ray Whitney — acting as a freelance critic

Immigration law 'breaks principle of innocence'

By Aileen Ballantyne

Immigration rules are directly contrary to the basic principle of British law that a person is innocent until proven guilty, the Bishop of Birmingham, the Right Reverend Hugh Montefiore said yesterday.

He was helping to launch a campaign aimed at reunifying an estimated 17,000 men illegally settled here with their wives and children waiting to join them from the Indian sub-continent.

"The method of immigration examination and procedure could be turned on its head," he said. It should be accepted that a man was telling the truth about wanting his wife and children to join him not that "a person is lying unless he can prove he is not."

A Commission for Racial Equality investigation into immigration control procedures, concluded last month that Britain's immigration laws were racist in operation. The report found that between 1977 and 1983 British posts in the Indian sub-continent ruled on 50,753 applications from women seeking to join men claimed to be their husbands in the United Kingdom. A third of applications from wives and children were refused.

The Divided Families Campaign, sponsored by community relations councils, the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants and law centres, wants the burden of proof shifted to the Home Office.

Most rejections are because the Home Office decides that families are not related as claimed to the man legally settled in Britain.

Mr Abdur Rob said he had applied for his wife and family to join him in 1971. He had come to Britain from Bangladesh in 1963 and had worked in a spinner factory, sending for his family once he had saved enough money.

It had taken six years for his application to be processed by the British High Commission in Dhaka. In 1977 his family was allowed to join him, but by that time his two older sons were over 18 and no longer allowed entry, so his family was permanently divided.

The Home Office says the number of wives and families waiting to join husbands stands at 19,000. The Home and Foreign Offices employ 42 immigration officers to deal with the applications and the average waiting time for the first interview is said to be 22 months.

Mr Alf Dubs, Opposition spokesman on race relations, told the conference that the Labour Party was committed to employing more officers to deal with applications, to ending "racist" immigration laws and to removing the rule which means that a husband has to be able to prove that he can support his family before he can apply for them to join him.



The Rev Anthony Bailey (left) and Mrs Joyce Appleby, aged 70, who were among the 81 people arrested for cutting the wire at RAF Sculthorpe, Norfolk, yesterday

81 held as nuclear arms protest snowballs

EIGHTY-ONE people were arrested yesterday in the latest phase of the Snowball civil disobedience campaign in Norfolk, which aims to force the Government to support some form of nuclear disarmament.

The protesters, who are independent of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, began their campaign in the autumn when three people cut the wire at the American nuclear bomber standby base at RAF Sculthorpe in Norfolk. At each action, the numbers involved treble; it has grown to nine,

27 and yesterday 81. Already 243 people are being organised for the next phase.

Yesterday, the demonstrators each cut one strand of the fence and then gave themselves up to police. Since the first cutters arrived at 6.30 am, they had to wake the police up at Fakenham police station.

The organisers of Snowball say the campaign will end if any one of three demands are met: if the Government votes for multilateral disarmament proposals at the United Nations regard-

less of how America votes; if it publicly encourages the US to accept freeze proposals, or if it takes a unilateral step towards a freeze or reduction in arms such as the abandonment of Trident or cruise or the public rejection of the US proposal to store chemical weapons.

At Fakenham last week, a stipendiary magistrate was brought from London. The defendants were fined £80 with £30 costs. They pleaded not guilty to criminal damage, saying they had a lawful excuse under Britain's Genocide Act.

Camera may have exposed a fossil

By Martin Walwright

DOUBT has been cast by six scientists among them Sir Fred Hoyle, on the bona fides of a famous fossil. Photographic examination of the stony remains of Archaeopteryx, a sort of prehistoric chicken, has suggested that Victorian fakers may have been at work.

The fossil examined by the team was found in a Bavarian quarry in 1861 and is now in the British Museum. Its scientific significance, shared by another specimen found in the same quarry in 1877, is the presence of wing and tail feathers, showing a unique transition taking place between reptile and bird.

Archaeopteryx is the only unquestionable example of this phenomenon, although the possibility of such an evolutionary stage was predicted before the 1861 discovery in a sketch by T. H. Huxley.

Sir Fred, the radio astronomer, and his colleagues, including Professor Chandra Wickramasinghe of Cardiff University, have found evidence of a layer of flint-grained limestone on the fossils, carrying the imprints of the creature's feathers. Another area of feather prints lies in a depressed section of the stone which is not matched by a raised slab on the other side of the chunk of rock which was split open to reveal the fossil.

The team's findings, which followed the use of advanced photographic methods, are reported in the current issue of the British Journal of Photography and suggest that the feather impressions may have been added in the 19th century.



Sir Fred Hoyle: evidence of fakers at work

Nuclear waste pile will reach million tonnes within 15 years

By Paul Brown

Britain will need to dispose of one million tonnes of low level nuclear waste by the end of the century, according to the Department of Environment.

Detailed figures given to the Commons select committee on the environment show that there will also be 160,000 tons of nuclear waste described as intermediate and which is dangerous for up to 50,000 years and 4,000 tons of high level waste, dangerous for 250,000 years.

The department for the first time gave a possible timetable for the disposal of intermediate waste. The earliest practicable date for finding and

bringing into operation a deep disposal facility on land is 15 years. An alternative being considered is storage for about 45 years using the time to find a disposal site, and a third choice is to get rid of the waste in off shore boreholes.

The department has accepted responsibility for disposing of nuclear waste in policy, set out in a 1977 white paper, is "to ensure that waste management problems are dealt with before any large nuclear programme is undertaken."

The Government and the nuclear industry which it owns is spending millions on research into waste disposal. The figures for the last three years are £25 million, £26 million, and £33.5 million.

Another problem that the industry has not solved is what to do with the Magnox power stations when they wear out. Dismantling the stations and getting rid of the radioactive contents will be a major problem in 15 years' time.

The report gives details of plans for importing nuclear waste. The Thorp complex being built at British Nuclear Fuels Ltd, at Selkfield, Cumbria, to vitrify high level nuclear waste so that it can be stored for 50 years while it cools, will import 75 per cent of the waste it deals with.

The large quantities of intermediate and low level waste thus generated will also have to be disposed of in Britain.

Thatcher 'has declared pay war on teachers'

By Andrew Mouncey,
Education Staff

Mrs Thatcher has declared war on teachers over pay, Labour's education spokesman, Mr Giles Radice, claimed yesterday.

Teachers in England and Wales are to begin a wave of selective strikes this week. The unions have rejected an offer of a 4 per cent rise and a proposal for arbitration.

In a Commons reply last week, Mrs Thatcher made it clear that any extra money on pay would mean fewer teachers or other cuts in the service.

Mr Radice, in a letter to the Prime Minister, said that unless the Government acted to "make a reasonable and just settlement possible," the dispute would become a running sore.

He called on Mrs Thatcher to clarify her statements, which he said have prevented the employers from negotiating a deal involving changes in salary structure.

"In short, your statement amounted to new hard attitude by the Government — a declaration of war on the teaching profession," he said.

In Edinburgh last night leaders of the National Union of Teachers held talks with their Scottish opposite numbers. The Scottish teachers are also locked into a lengthy dispute with the Government over their demand for a full pay review.

The Educational Institute of Scotland, the largest Scottish teaching union, and closely allied to the NUT, hosted the



Giles Radice — urging a just settlement

meeting, which comes at a critical time for the education service on both sides of the border.

The NUT is this week calling out about 8,000 members in 42 areas on selective three-day strikes, starting tomorrow.

It estimates that 375,000 children will be affected, with many losing lessons or days of schooling.

At the same time, the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers, will hit 18 education authorities with "guerrilla" stoppages.

It will be calling out its members for varying periods, from a single lesson to half a day, and reckons that up to 300,000 pupils will feel the effects, with cancelled classes and timetable confusion.

Alliance takes step forward

By Tony Heath

The annual conference of the Welsh Liberal Party in Swansea has unanimously voted to stage a joint Alliance conference in Wales later this year.

The proposal will be put to the annual conference of the Social Democratic Party in Wales at Tenby, in Dyfed, later this month. Mr Tom Ellis, president of the SDP in Wales, who attended the conference said that he foresaw no opposition by his party to the suggestion.

Mr Ellis, a founder of the SDP and former Labour MP for Wrexham, and Mr Gwynor Jones, the SDP's Welsh chairman, were accorded VIP treatment by the Liberals at Swansea.

Mr Jones, one time Labour MP for Carmarthen, shared the platform at a public meeting with the Liberal leader Mr Bann, said: "These remarks echo the opinions of Gerry Adams and Sinn Fein. This is not a colonial situation and he is simply showing his commitment to reactionary and angry nationalism."

"The number of regular troops here is at its lowest level. Security is maintained by local British people."

The cardinal took a weekend press conference in Boston, Massachusetts, where Roman Catholics would outnumber Protestants within a few generations and that it was only a matter of time before Northern Ireland became part of the republic.

Cardinal O'Flah said: "As long as partition is there you will have an opposing angry minority. As long as the military presence is there it provides a special element of divisiveness. Protestants identify with the British presence and

Purple prose from a blunt bishop

By Martin Walwright

ALTHOUGH he never spoke to an actress, at least not in the circumstances usually meant, the former Bishop of Peterborough has won a place in history because of his pithy remarks.

Four months after his retirement, his friends in the diocese have compiled an anthology of the sayings of "the rudest man in the Church of England."

Bishop Douglas Feaver described women members of the General Synod as having "seething bosoms but nothing above." China tea, he theorised, must have been invented by the SDF. A fellow member of the House of Lords was dismissed with the comment: "His mouth is for export and his head has no entrance."

The anthology, Purple Prose, which will be published on March 15, was the idea of Mr John Kelly, who worked with the bishop as communications officer for the diocese. "Feaverisms" were a well-known phenomenon in Peterborough.

Mr Kelly was warned about his new bishop after the service in 1972 when the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Michael Ramsey, installed Canon Feaver in office. The late Dean of Westminster, Dr Eric Abbott, took Mr Kelly on one side for a glass of sherry and whisky. "Well, boy, I do hope the Holy Spirit has worked. He'll need it, because he's the rudest man in the Church of England."

The bishop was soon in action, hissing, "Silly old trout," at a Mother's Union member who split leaching tea over him (but fortunately was dead). At a confirmation service he asked the boy candidates: "What sort of girl would you like to marry?" "A girl with a wave of his creder at the three elderly ladies awaiting his blessing: "Not that there's much choice here tonight."

Faced with another mature confirmation recant, whom he had never met before, the bishop pointed at her husband and asked: "Is this yours? Where did you meet him? In the blackout?" Asked for his view of another bishop's opinions during a theological debate, he replied: "I am sure there is something in his mind, but I haven't found it yet."

Apart from firm opposition to modern liturgy, which led him to tell members at the funeral of an enthusiast for the Alternative Service Book: "Well, as Edward now knows, the ASE is not the language of heaven," his bishop was also well-known for leaving services at high speed.

"In any church where there was any possible shortcut to the vestry, he took it," says Mr Kelly in the book's commentary. Bishop Feaver, now retired, said that he had no comment on the book beyond the fact that it was "light-hearted ephemeral stuff." But he wrote privately to Mr Kelly, thanking him for a "slight of fancy."

Scottish Labour Party soothes miners

By Joan Stead,
Scottish Correspondent

The Scottish Labour Party pulled itself painfully to its feet at its annual conference which ended in Perth yesterday.

Last week, it seemed as though the damage caused to the party by the miners' strike might be irreparable, but a carefully programmed conference, organised to soothe the pride of the NUM delegation resulted in a display of benign unity.

Mr Donald Dewar, the Opposition Scottish secretary, said afterwards that there had been an enormous and constructive examination of the past year and they could now go on with a sense of purpose.

No more than a carefully polite reception was given to Mr Neil Kinnock, the party leader, on Friday.

After he left, a much bigger ovation came for a 20-year-old miner, Alex Snarks, from Monmouthshire colliery.

Shaking with emotion, he said: "We are going back, but we are not defeated. What we have learned during this strike can never be taken away from us."

The miners and their families had been starving and desperate and there had been lack of support from some of the TUC and not total support for an amnesty from Mr Kinnock on Friday.

Meanwhile, Scotland is to see the start of a Labour Party campaign to win back the trade union vote which went to Mrs Thatcher at the last election.

Now with only 300,000 members of which only about one-tenth are in Scotland, the Labour Party is much smaller than some pressure groups, particularly CND.

The greatest triumph of the Scottish executive was its success in taming some rebellious groups within its youth section in order to get closer links with the main body of the party.

For the executive, Mr Bill Gibby warned that if this was not done, and if more trade union support was not gained, there was a danger that Labour might become a bankrupt party which was merely a "meeting place for purists."

The groups opposed a resolution which states that the grip of sectarian politics on the Young Socialists and the lack of campaigning by the party as a whole were directly responsible for the lack of growth by Labour's youth movement.

Mr Gibby said: "No one in this hall is disputing the role played by the youth sections in the miners' strike. But how much greater would that role have been had we had a proper youth organisation in the Labour Party that we could be really proud of?"

The resolution, finally passed by an overwhelming majority, noted that the party's youth campaigning had been fragmented and said it was vital that consistency, parties and trade union branches recognised the importance of a strong and campaigning youth section. There should be an active youth section in every constituency.

MP accuses cardinal of helping Sinn Fein

From Gareth Parry,
in Belfast

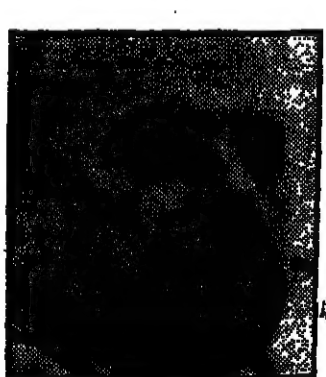
Cardinal Tomás O'Flah, Primate of All Ireland, was accused yesterday of being a propagandist for Sinn Fein, the IRA's political wing, after advocating a British military withdrawal from Northern Ireland.

Mr Harold McCusker, Official Unionist MP for Upper Bann, said: "These remarks echo the opinions of Gerry Adams and Sinn Fein. This is not a colonial situation and he is simply showing his commitment to reactionary and angry nationalism."

"The number of regular troops here is at its lowest level. Security is maintained by local British people."

The cardinal took a weekend press conference in Boston, Massachusetts, where Roman Catholics would outnumber Protestants within a few generations and that it was only a matter of time before Northern Ireland became part of the republic.

Cardinal O'Flah said: "As long as partition is there you will have an opposing angry minority. As long as the military presence is there it provides a special element of divisiveness. Protestants identify with the British presence and



Tomás O'Flah — angry minority

Catholics are against it." The OUP leader, Mr Jim Molyneux accused the cardinal of being irresponsible and "getting his facts wrong." A great number of Catholics vote Unionist and the cardinal has avoided that fact. He has not done his sums properly."

Two youths appeared at a special court in Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, yesterday charged with membership of the junior wing of the IRA, Cathal Wylie, aged 19, a security worker and Paul Keogh, 21, a joiner, both of Coalbrook, Co. Tyrone, were remanded in custody to appear before Belfast magistrates on March 15.

More vigorous police tactics feared after pit strike successes

David Rose reports that academics, lawyers and some police officers are concerned about changes in methods used against demonstrators

Fears that the policing of demonstrations is becoming unnecessarily forceful in the wake of the miners' strike are being expressed by academics, lawyers and some senior officers after a series of protests where there has been strong criticism of police tactics.

In December 1984, Thames Valley officers broke up a picket by students at All Souls College, Oxford, where the Prime Minister was due to speak. There were 35 arrests and allegations that a demonstration described by the junior officer present in a comment to the press as "peaceful" had been deliberately turned into a melee.

Police used wedge formations and horses to prevent demonstrators entering Trafalgar Square for a miners' rally. One man suffered a broken leg and four other demonstrators were injured.

Last week, the Greater Manchester force drove a wedge through students to admit the Home Secretary, Mr Leon Brittan, to the university union building. A letter to the Guardian claimed that "hundreds of policemen appeared from nowhere, without warning, and literally charged with the full force at the students."

In all these cases, observers claim, the police deployed one or more of the techniques used during the miners' strike.

These include Police Support Units (PSUs) — 20-strong formations under the command of two sergeants and an inspector — as well as "wedges," and methods "snatch" arrest.

While most of the techniques were developed before the strike, they had never been used by so many officers for such a long period. The strike also saw the use of complex radio networks to summon reinforcements, and command structures designed to achieve a high degree of cohesion between units on the ground.

In a forthcoming paper for the Institute for the Study of Conflict, two academics from

Reading University, Dr Peter Waddington, a sociologist, and Ms Patricia Leopold, a lawyer, address the questions posed by continuing the techniques of the strike in other situations.

They believe that greater familiarity and confidence with the techniques may tempt police to use them where they are unsuitable or liable to provoke, not reduce, tension.

Their belief is shared by Dr Michael Hart, a fellow in politics at Exeter College, Oxford, and a Liberal city councillor, who became closely involved with the aftermath of the All Souls demonstration and pressed unsuccessfully for an inquiry.

According to Dr Hart:

"There are many demonstrations in Oxford, many of them organised by students, and it is extremely rare for there to be any arrests. On this occasion about 5 per cent of those demonstrating were arrested. Many of the police present came from outside the town. A demonstration is not an excuse for the suspension of civil liberties."

Lawyers involved in public order work are also alarmed. Mr James Saunders, a London solicitor, said: "It's hard to make a prognosis but the present conditions for a tougher police seem to be there."

"It's likely that the flavour of demonstrations will in future

be decided by the officer in charge — and in some cases it could become quite unpleasant. You have only to compare the experience of West and South Yorkshire to realise how important this could be."

Scotland Yard said last night that the Metropolitan Police were "genuinely interested" in the experience gained during the miners' strike but there had been no change of policy for demonstrations.

A spokesman for Manchester said that policy was constantly being scrutinised and that it was too early to say what effect the strike might have. Thames Valley said it was unable to comment.

Oxford's fifth chess win

Oxford scored their fifth successive victory, by 5-3 in the university chess match in London on Saturday. However, Cambridge, though outplayed on every board, were at one stage in a winning position.

OBITUARY

Soccer boss

HARRY CATTERICK, the 63-year-old former manager of Everton Football Club, collapsed and died during the team's FA Cup quarter-final against Ipswich on Saturday. During his management Everton won the League championship in 1963 and 1970, and the FA Cup in 1966. David Lacey, page 22.

HOME NEWS

Rebel parents guard against race 'strike' retribution

Martin Wainwright reports on the deadlock over the Bradford head whose views have led to clashes and rival lessons

A GROUP of parents plans to watch for signs of retribution after a spectacular protest by more than half the pupils.

Up to 280 children from Drummond middle school, Bradford, west Yorkshire where the roll is 90 per cent Muslim attended a 'strike' school last week in protest at the allegedly racist views of their headmaster.

Mr Ray Honeyford, aged 50, saw his register fall below that of the rival school, half a mile down the hill at the Pakistan Community Centre. It was the latest in a series of walkouts and pickets at Drummond, where the parents of 238 children have applied for transfer to other schools.

Thirty qualified teachers ran a full timetable at the community centre, with computers, musical instruments and classrooms wallpapered with children's essays and paintings. Asian restaurants provided food for a free daily meal and doctors were on hand for emergencies.

Ms Jenny Woodward, a parent governor who has a daughter at Drummond, said: "There is no way that Mr Honeyford can regain the trust and confidence of parents." The Parents' Action Group, which enlisted working teachers, as well as retired, unemployed and striking ones for the school,

sence of pupils for several months on visits to India, Bangladesh or Pakistan.

In the first of a series of articles which were to lead to the latest furor, he wrote of immigrant parents in the Times Educational Supplement in November 1983: "Their commitment to a British education was implicit in their decision to become British citizens. Maintenance and transmission of the mother culture has nothing to do with the English secular school."

Mr Honeyford fought his corner but the council disagreed and an all-party policy supporting multi-cultural education was approved. The decision, headed, of an attempt by the Muslim Parents' Association to buy five council schools, including Drummond, to educate children privately.

The head, apparently embittered by some of the reaction to his views — he was called a racist despite the good atmosphere then acknowledged — to exist at Drummond showed signs of imitating the role of his opponents had chosen for him.

He submitted articles to the Salisbury Review, which publishes the views of the extreme rightwing of the Conservative Party, including calls for compulsory repatriation.

Mr Roger Scruton, the editor and reader in philosophy at London University, said: "His contents are conservative, intellectual and designed to challenge established prejudices in a way which causes offence." Mr Honeyford cited the bill with comments like: "Cultural enrichment is the approved term for the West Indian right to create an ear-splitting cacophony for most of the night to the detriment of his neighbour's sleep."

He caused particular offence, Bradford, by a "diary of the week" published in the TMS, which described his job in district commissioner terms, referring among other things to a "straight out of Kipling" whose English sounded like "Peter Sellers' doctor on an off day."

Quite like that were old hat in Bradford at least 20 years before Mr Honeyford took up his post and his approach suggested ignorance of the city's tradition of accepting immigrants' ways. Frederick Delius, for instance, was excused football at Bradford Grammar School in the 1870s because his German father disapproved of it.

Nine months ago, after protests from more than 200 parents that Mr Honeyford's views were reflected in his work, 10 inspectors spent a week at the school and recommended changes.

They found no evidence of serious lapses, but reported: "The situation as it has emerged must raise serious questions as to whether it will be possible for the school to continue to function effectively unless the headmaster is able to regain the trust and confidence of a significant proportion of parents."

On March 22, after various failed attempts to end the affair by early retirement or transfer, Bradford council will consider whether trust has been regained and if not, what steps should be taken. There is no majority in the Conservative group, which holds power with Alliance consent, for sacking the head, but a vote which left the officers would get through.



Ray Honeyford — "cannot regain trust"

plans to revive the project on a more permanent basis if necessary.

Mr Honeyford, who has rejected severance terms from Bradford council worth £100,000, denies that he is racist and points to support from other Muslim parents. Mr Iqbal Ansari, a local doctor with two children at Drummond, described him as "a fine man, I respect him because he looks after my children."

Other parents backed the head because of his traditional approach to the job with discipline, progress or merit and a "British education" the guiding light.

Mr Mohammed Ajeeb, a Labour councillor and the city's Lord Mayor-elect, said: "There are certainly Asian families who approve of this. Strict discipline and the old values have a strong appeal to them."

Mr Honeyford has been in trouble since 1982, two years after he arrived in Bradford when the city embarked on wide consultation about how to meet the needs of pupils from different cultural backgrounds.

He opposed such concessions as allowing Muslim girls to wear headscarves during physical education, tolerating the occasional ab-

were jointly agreed by both the BBC and the Home Office, which had requested the BBC and the Home Office, to commission the £250,000 study as part of the impending licensee decision.

In the past two months the newspaper, part of Mr Murdoch's worldwide media empire, has published five editorial articles arguing that the Corporation should be split up, the licensee system reduced to a rump, and commercially viable parts of its television and radio services made available as commercial franchises.

The comparisons between the BBC's costs and those of independent producers commissioned by Channel 4 is to be made in continuing discussions in which they and Peter Marwick are already involved. As reported in the Guardian last Wednesday, the management team recommended such an examination and its report looked at the relative costs of drama series.

by Peter Fiddick

The BBC and Peter Marwick Mitchell, the city accountants and management consultant firm whose value for money report on the corporation was published last week, yesterday issued a joint denial of claims that unpublished sections of the report make unfavourable comparisons between the cost of making television drama for BBC and that for Channel 4.

As has already been stated, these annexes do not include any inclusion of addition to the published report, a statement said. They did not make comparisons between the BBC and Channel 4 drama costs.

On Friday Mr Geoff Buck, the BBC's director of finance, wrote to the Times denying its front-page report that the wording of the management consultant's terms of achievement — to consider ways of maintaining the range of existing services — was the BBC's work. Mr Buck said that the terms



PARENT POWER: Fathers of children who attended a breakaway school in Bradford argue their case at a press conference at the city's Pakistan Community Centre. Picture by Asadour Gazelian

Report rejects 'blacks only' school plan

West Indians and Bangladeshis are doing less well at school than white Britons and other Asians, the government-funded Swann Report is expected to confirm this week. The inquiry is believed to have rejected suggestions that special schools for black pupils be set up within the state system.

Direct racial discrimination and social deprivation contribute to this under-achievement, while IQ is not a significant factor, suggests the report, which is to be published this week.

The Swann committee, which was not in unanimous agreement in opposing special black schools, has found it difficult to explain why most Asians do better than West Indians.

It is thought to suggest that the Asian tendency to keep a low profile may bring success in a hostile environment, while the West Indian tradition of protest and high profile has the reverse effect.

More single sex education and a genuine acceptance of multi-racialism are a better approach to solving black and Muslim grievances than special schools, it suggests.

The Swann Report contains 70 recommendations, and its 800 pages represent five years of controversial study.

The committee was set up in 1979 by the then Labour education secretary, Mrs Shirley Williams.

Its original chairman was Mr Arthur Rampton, who resigned before an interim report in 1981. There has been a total of 10 resignations and replacements on the multi-racial committee.

Lord Swann, a former BBC chairman, replaced Mr Rampton for the second half of the committee's work.

The interim report said that many West Indian parents felt the main cause of their children's under-achievement was racism and its effect on schools.

The report upset teachers by saying that while only a small number could be said to be racist, it believed other teachers displayed signs of unintentional racism.

The interim report, which itself contained 80 recommendations, produced startling evidence of poor academic performance by West Indian children, which indicated that Asians and white pupils did between twice and six times as well as West Indian pupils at O level and six times better at A level.

It found no single cause for West Indian under-achievement in schools. Widely differing attitudes and expectations from teachers, the education system and West Indian parents led the West Indian child to face difficulties and hurdles in achieving full potential, the report said.

Lloyds Bank 1984 Results



Extracts from the statement of Sir Jeremy Morse, Chairman, Lloyds Bank Plc, in the 1984 Report and Accounts, to be published on 4 April 1985.

In 1984 Group profits before provisions and taxes were £737m, 16% up on the previous year. Pre-tax profits, after provisions for bad and doubtful debts of £269m, were 12% up at £468m. Post-tax profits were 17% down at £237m.

The dividend for the year will be 26.5p on the capital enlarged by last year's 1 for 5 issue, an effective increase of 12%. This year we are proposing a 1 for 2 bonus issue to capitalise reserves and to bring the share price more within reach of the small investor.

These are encouraging results, given that we are still in the trough of the banking cycle, a trough which has been extended over nearly three years as the great inflation of the 1970s slowly subsides.

The welcome recovery we have seen to an average growth rate of about 3% in the major economies has done more for prosperous sectors and companies around the world than for those in difficulties. Hence our need to continue making provisions at an exceptionally high level for the third year running.

We will continue to devote our skills to managing the remaining problems, by ourselves or with other banks in the case of corporate debt, and in a larger co-operation with governments, central banks and the International Monetary Fund in the case of country debt.

During 1984 the dollar remained strong, and over the year rose by 25% against the pound. This affected our figures in a number of ways. Despite the growth in our business, our total assets fell when expressed

	1984	1983
Profit before taxation	£468m	£419m
Profit after taxation	£237m	£284m
Earnings per share	98p	119p
Dividends per share	26.5p	23.7p
Total assets	£44,009m	£38,432m

in dollar terms; the income from our international operations was increased in sterling terms; and our international exposure was increased in relation to our capital.

At such a time it has been most unfortunate that the tax burden on British banks has been increased and their capital strength reduced, notably by the impact on leasing of last year's UK Budget changes on capital allowances. This accounts for the disproportionate deterioration in our post-tax results. It also required us, as we announced last May, to provide from reserves £465m for deferred tax relating to leasing business undertaken in previous years.

Fortunately our capital ratios were previously strong by both British and world standards. Even so, the ratio of our shareholders' funds to total assets was brought down from 6% before the Budget to 4.7% at the end of the year. It will take time to restore this ratio to a higher level, and with this in mind our prime objective must be to improve our return on equity.

The second half of the 1980s is likely to see big changes in banking and other financial services. We are positioning ourselves to maintain a strong performance through those changes and beyond.

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Women's kidney warning

By Andrew Veltch,
Medical Correspondent

Women and girls are today urged not to suffer in silence when they succumb to cystitis, one of the most common of female ailments.

If infection spreads to the kidneys, it can cause permanent damage, warns the National Kidney Research Fund.

All very young children suspected to have infection should be taken to their doctor. All women in whom attacks frequently occur, and any man who contracts urinary tract infection, should see their doctor.

Half of all women suffer cystitis at some time. It is usually caused by bacteria escaping from the bowel into the bladder causing inflammation. Symptoms include the need to urinate more frequently and with greater urgency.

Isolated attacks are unlikely to cause permanent damage, particularly if treated promptly. The danger, particularly in girls, is that a stagnant column of urine can form in the urethra, carrying the infection back up to the kidneys.

Treatment for cystitis is usually a course of antibiotics. Cystitis, 60p inc p&p, National Kidney Research Fund, 42 Lower Marsh, London SE1.



SPOKES MAN: The first of 18 spokes paid for by benefactors is put into the country's largest working water wheel at Quarry Bank Mill museum, Styal, Cheshire. Donations are needed to pay for another 30 spokes in the 50-ton wheel, which was salvaged from a mill in Yorkshire. It will eventually power cotton textile machinery exhibits and the names of all the benefactors will be inscribed on the spokes. Picture by Denis Thorpe

Scottish coal chiefs accused of 'reign of terror'

Labour MPs to demand inquiry into pit sackings

By Jean Stead
Scottish Correspondent

A demand for an independent review of the cases of about 200 sacked miners in Scotland is to be made next week by the shadow Scottish secretary, Mr Donald Dewar.

He and other Scottish Labour MPs will press for a review at a meeting with Mr Ian MacGregor, chairman of the National Coal Board.

Mr Dewar told the Scottish Labour Party conference yesterday that the proportion sacked in Scotland was far higher than in other areas.

He said it was an "outrage" that Scottish miners were being treated in this way. Men were doubly punished, first by the courts and then by being deprived of a job.

Mr Gordon Brown, MP for Dunfermline East, with the assistance of lawyers, has prepared a dossier of the details of 70 miners sacked in the Fife coalfield and elsewhere. He said yesterday that written evidence on the sackings had been requested from the NCB and the Department of Employment by an all-party select committee.

He said the request meant the NCB would be forced to give evidence on its "dismissal policy".

There is now a strong move to bring both Mr Albert



Mr Donald Dewar: double punishment

Wheeler, director of the Scottish NCB, and Mr MacGregor before the committee.

Mr Brown said yesterday that some older men who had been fined £100 for picket line offences had lost up to £35,000 in redundancy money because they had been dismissed. "It is a cheap way of getting rid of people. The NCB promised redundancy money but I estimate that by sacking people in this way they are saving about £15 million."

There is a reign of terror in the Scottish coalfield now. Forty people have been dis-

missed in the past few days since men started back at work and we are back to the black list situation of 1926."

Mr Brown said that two sheriffs and at least one chief constable were expressing concern at the double jeopardy faced by men with previously impeccable records.

One typical case from the dossier is Mr James White, aged 22, of Perth Road, Cowdenbeath, formerly a mechanical fitter at the NCB's central workshop and a single man living with a dependent widowed mother.

He was charged at Dunfermline Sheriff's Court with obstruction of police by pushing against a police line. He pleaded guilty in February, when the case came to court, was fined £50 given three months to pay, and was then sacked by the NCB.

Mr Donald Dewar is also seeking a public inquiry into the management of the Scottish coalfield, where a number of pit closures were threatened before the strike started.

Mr Dewar said that it was "a matter of confidence" in the way the board had been running its affairs over the past two or three years. Millions of pounds have been taken into investment underground, then machinery suddenly withdrawn with no explanation.

Wales claims amnesty progress

By Paul Hoyland,
Welsh Correspondent

The South Wales miners' president, Mr Emyr Williams, said at the weekend that the union was making progress in negotiations with the coal board to reinstate miners sacked during the strike.

He told a conference of lodge officials in Pontypridd, mid-Glamorgan, that there were more than 50 cases in South Wales. Each was being dealt with on its merits and it was a slow process with some taking up to three hours to assess.

The union had won reinstatement for men dismissed for minor offences involving taking coal from tips. Some have already returned to work.

The conference heard that four lodge officials at St John's colliery in Maesteg, West Glamorgan, who had been sacked for alleged intimidation of a working miner, were to be reinstated. They include Mr Ian Isaac, the lodge secretary, who is a member of the union's South Wales area executive.

Negotiations with the board, which have already lasted three days, are expected to continue for at least another week. The lodge officials accepted an interim report from Mr Williams and the conference will reconvene when talks have been completed. Delegates agreed to make no comment while negotiations were continuing.

Nine people, including two teenagers, are to be reported for alleged criminal offences following police investigations into Friday's attack on the car of a South Wales miner, Mr Paul Watson.

A piece of concrete smashed a window as Mr Watson's wife Joy, aged 42, drove away from the smelter's fuel tank near Aberdare, mid-Glamorgan, where Mr Watson, aged 38, a father of three, was the only NUM member among the 700 workforce to break the strike.

Eggs and paint were thrown and the car was surrounded and kicked by protesters.

Police said six women, a man, a teenage girl and a youth aged 15 have been interviewed and will be reported for alleged offences. They are expected to appear in court later.

The Chief Constable Mr David East said that police will be on duty whenever Mr Watson arrives or leaves the works in future.

Banks woo miners on repayment of debts

By Margaret Dibben,
Money Editor

SOME miners may take up to four years to pay off the debts they have accumulated during the strike. Those who returned to work last week are being wooed by bank and building society managers to discuss their debt problems.

Many miners will not receive their first pay cheque until next Thursday or Friday but some have already had a payment on account for shifts worked before the strike started but still subject to settlement of the 1984 wages claim.

While many miners have been making at least token payments towards mortgage and personal loan commitments, some have paid nothing for nearly a year.

They will all be expected to start full repayments now they are back on the payroll, but just now quickly they will have to pay off the arrears is subject to individual arrangement.

Most can expect to spread the debt over two years but those owing most may need twice as long. The institutions are worried that loan sharks may move in if they do not contact their customers quickly and many are posting personal letters requesting an interview.

Miners have a reputation for being good payers and good savers, which explains partly why the institutions are trying so hard to help them cope with their debt problems.

The Yorkshire Bank is using the return to work as an opportunity to pitch for new customers and the Co-op Bank is offering miners a restructured package to encompass all their debts.

Citizens' Advice Bureau money counsellors say that miners and their wives may not have claimed all the benefits to which they are entitled.

The bureau warns that small creditors may swoop and demand immediate repayment of loans once the first pay cheque arrives. It advises miners to find out if they are entitled to more benefits, especially through their wives.

Health and safety plans 'put workers at risk'

By John Ardliff,
Labour Correspondent

Health and safety standards at work may collapse if the Health and Safety Commission carries out its plan to withdraw from routine inspection and enforcement work, according to the Institution of Professional Civil Servants. It claims that the commission's ideas, which are presented in the Health and Safety Executive plan for 1985-86, due to be published today, are unworkable.

The institution, which represents the HSE's inspectors, says that the plan suggests that the HSE's role should be restricted to setting standards and issuing guidance, with intervention limited to "high-risk, high technology" industries. Day-to-day inspection and enforcement would be transferred to local authorities, insurance companies and self-policing.

This would make it impossible to improve or maintain standards according to the institution which says active enforcement is essential. Mr John Howard, IPCS officer responsible for the HSE staff, said that economic pressures

and staff reductions were leading many employers to cut corners and evade legal responsibilities. Deaths and major injuries were rising in manufacturing.

The IPCS and other civil service unions opposed to the proposal say that local authorities are already overburdened, insurance companies will not want to lose business by insisting on improvements or imposing penalties, and self-policing would be open to "massive abuse". On the criteria set out by the HSE, Union Carbide, the firm involved in 2,000 deaths in the Indian town of Bhopal, would qualify for self-regulation.

The white collar union, Apex, claims in a report today that it has evidence that working with visual display units presents health hazards.

It says that 64 per cent of those surveyed in London and the Home Counties complained that unsuitable lighting led to headaches from using VDU's. There were also complaints about sore or tired eyes, noise, neck and backaches caused by unsuitable furniture, and upsets in domestic life from the stress involved.

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SPD is set for victory in poll

From Anna Tomforde in Bonn

West Germany's opposition Social Democrats (SPD) looked set to win an absolute majority and oust the ruling centre-right coalition in elections yesterday to the Saarland state government.

ARD television, citing computer projections, said that the SPD leader, Mr Oskar Lafontaine, was likely to win 26 of the 51 seats in the state assembly to form the state's first SPD administration.

The projections, usually reliable, gave the SPD 48.4 per cent of votes against 37.6 per cent for Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democrats (CDU) and 10.4 per cent for the Free Democrat (FDP) partners.

The radical Greens were given 2.6 per cent of the vote, well below the 5 per cent needed under electoral law for seats in the state assembly.

The projections showed major losses for the CDU, down 6.5 points from 1980, but unexpected gains of 3.4 points for the FDP. The SPD won 45.4 per cent of votes at the last election.

Mr Lafontaine's victory is likely to have implications for the SPD at national level, underlining the popularity of a local leader who has long stood for anti-nuclear and anti-NATO policies.

In an apparent attempt to prevent the SPD from moving further to the left, and to correct the image that the party is wooing the radical Greens, the party's leader, Mr Willy Brandt, has recently invited the CDU to define "vital political areas" in which the two main parties could cooperate.

He mentioned the environment, unemployment, and foreign policy.

But the Christian Democrats held on to power in West Berlin with the help of their coalition partners, the Free Democrats.

The Social Democratic candidate for West Berlin, mayor Mr Hans Apf, conceded defeat to the governing CDU mayor, Mr Eberhard Diepgen, in a television interview 90 minutes after the polls closed.

With 80 of West Berlin's 200 districts in the Christian Democrats' hands, the CDU won 46.8 per cent, the Social Democrats 33 per cent, the Alternative List (Greens) 10.8 per cent, and the Free Democrats 7 per cent.

Some six million Germans went to the polls yesterday in state and municipal elections, including local elections in Hesse.

West German authorities and RAF police were working on the theory yesterday that shots fired at the car of Air Marshal Sir Patrick Cane, the RAF Commander in Chief in Germany, could have been a joke.

Sir Patrick yesterday described the incident as a "rather unprofessional attempt". He was being driven on Saturday in an official car to an exercise near RAF headquarters in Monchengladbach when three shots were fired from an overtaking vehicle, believed to be carrying four men.

But the car was not hit and police said they found no strike marks on the road, suggesting that the attackers used blanks.

Sound and fury over move to freeze farm cash

From Derek Brown in Brussels

OVER the next couple of days, a great squealing and shrieking will be heard here. It is the distinctive sound of the European farmer in distress, amplified by sections of the EEC Council of Agriculture Ministers.

The ministers are considering, today and tomorrow, proposals from the EEC Commission that will effectively freeze the overall subsidy paid to the Community's 8 million farmers. The proposals are worth about £12 billion, a sum dismissed by the farm lobby as "totally inadequate," a deliberate provocation, and even "a declaration of war."

The ministers are required by the Treaty of Rome to fix a final price package for 1985-86 by April 1. Even if they achieve that deadline they will not do it this week. Rather,

there will be a mighty torrent of rhetoric for and against the price pegging package.

The posturing will be crucially important to the financially embattled Community. At stake is not just the future shape of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), but the political direction of the Community itself.

The CAP is the only fully-fledged, credible vehicle of joint European policy making. It has made the Community all at self-sufficient in food and a mighty force in world farm trading, proving in one sector at least that Europe can work as a unit.

The CAP is no about to become a victim of its own success. Europe is embarrassed by the surplus it has produced, financially hard up, and buffeted by pressures unimagined when the farm revolution was launched.

For two years or more, the

10 governments have pledged themselves to budgetary discipline, to developing of new joint policies, to regenerating industry, promoting technology, and most urgently attacking unemployment. All of which oblige them to stop hurling cash at the CAP.

On January 31 the Commission proposed a taken increase in guaranteed prices of just 0.1 per cent.

Cereal farmers, concentrated in Northern Europe, are the main target, having turned out some 145 million tonnes last year, about 30 per cent more than consumption. The Commission proposes price cuts in the sector of between 3.6 and 4.5 per cent. In the southern member states, citrus fruit growers, having hugely exceeded demand, are to be hit with a price cut of 6 per cent.

Meat prices are to be frozen and oilseed farmers are to suffer a 3.6 per cent cut. Milk

producers fare slightly better, with a 1.5 per cent price rise, but that is but a token reward for the cutbacks in production arising from the quota system introduced last year.

The EEC-wide farm lobby group COPA condemned the price package as "totally unacceptable." The British NFU said the package was "totally inadequate," the French FNSEA suggested that the entire CAP would have to be renegotiated, and the European parliament aware of rural votes, spluttered and raged.

On Wednesday this week, after the ministers have had their turn, the parliament will again debate farm prices, and will almost certainly call for another handsome rise.

Mr Michael Jopling, the UK agriculture minister and the man British farmers love to hate, will lose a few more friends by arguing that the price freeze is only a start. He

will, of course, add that those subsidies particularly valuable to Britain, like the variable beef premium which holds down shop prices, should stay.

The debate is also certain to feature strident demands from Greece and Italy for a shift in CAP emphasis from the costed north to the poorer Mediterranean countries.

In the unlovely jargon of the Community, integrated Mediterranean programmes (IMPS) will be under even more urgent discussion this week than farm prices. The farm ministers — and a parallel meeting today of finance ministers — have to agree a package of structural aid to farmers, aimed at land improvement, income protection, employment (and in the case of the UK, conservation measures), amounting probably to £3.25 billion over the next five years. This package will in-

clude at least a small element of the IMPS programme, for which Greece has demanded up to £4.5 billion.

The Italian presidency of the Community has signalled that after the sound and fury of this week's meeting, the ministers should expect to get down to serious work on a price settlement in the last week of the month. They meet again on March 25, and continue if necessary until the eve of the next EEC summit, which starts on March 28.

That summit has, among its more urgent tasks, to consider how to bridge the 1985 budgetary gap of £2 billion. Failure to freeze farm prices will drive the Community deeper into the financial mire. Agreement to freeze them could, at worst, encourage some governments to replace EEC aid with national aid. And that would effectively spell the end of the CAP.

Crucial test for government in French local elections

Le Pen puts rightist vote in doubt

From Campbell Fane in Paris

The French voted yesterday in local council elections seen as a nationally important test of strength for both the ruling Socialists and the extreme rightwing National Front.

The elections, usually dominated by local issues, have been thrown into the national spotlight by the rise of the National Front leader, Mr Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Politicians are naturally careful not to offend local sensibilities by putting the election in a purely national context, but, as Mr Jacques Chaban-Delmas, a former Gaullist prime minister, said recently: "What is at stake in the next few days is 1988."

Next year, President Mitterrand, with two years of his mandate unexpired, will discover whether he had to live with a National Assembly dominated by the opposition parties, the RPR and the UDF.

Although the Socialists are hoping to benefit from a sympathetic shift in electoral opinion, as voters appreciate the soundness of their revised policies, an opinion poll taken in the second half of February is not encouraging. Some 55 per cent of the respondents thought the voters should use the local elections to show their disapproval of the Government, while 29 per cent thought they should show their support for President Mitterrand.

In the same batch of local or cantonal elections six years ago, the Socialists won 27 per cent of the poll. In the other batch of local elections three years later, they climbed to almost 30 per cent, but fell back to 21 per cent in last year's European elections.

In the same period, the Communists, who withdrew their ministers from the Government last year and denounced their former Socialist partners at their congress, last month, declined from 22.5 per cent to 11.2 per cent of the vote.

Since the elections will stretch to a second round on March 17 wherever a candidate fails to win an absolute majority in the first round, it will be important to see whether the Communists withdraw from the second round to give a more successful Socialist candidate a clear run. So far, the Communist leader, Mr Marchais, has remained silent.

The main opposition parties, the neo-Gaullist RPR and Mr Giscard d'Estaing's UDF, have no such problems. They are either fielding joint candidates or have agreed that the less successful candidate from either party should withdraw before the second round.

They problem comes from Mr Le Pen. After a notable success with 11 per cent of the vote in last year's European elections, he is putting up candidates in almost 80 per cent of the departments.

He could easily bite into the vote of the traditional right in the first round. The national leadership of the RPR and UDF has come out against helping Mr Le Pen when his candidate wins the first round, but this attitude is not always shared at the local level.

Success in the electoral battle between Government and Opposition will be underlined by any shifts in control of departmental councils. At present, 36 are headed by the left and 59 by the Opposition.

The Interior Ministry said that early voting for the 1950 departmental council seats at stake was slightly lower than in 1982, when 32 per cent did not vote, but higher than in 1979.

The Prime Minister, Mr Fabius, has said that the election could be difficult for the Socialists, and last week called on voters to turn their backs on the extreme rightwing.

"I call on everyone to go beyond traditional political divisions and build the largest possible unity to show that racism will not win in France," Mr Fabius told a political rally.

Spain puts offer for EEC place

From Jane Walker in Madrid

Spain has offered France valuable recompense for a favourable outcome to Spain's application for EEC membership at this month's foreign ministers meeting in Brussels.

The Prime Minister, Mr Felipe Gonzalez, said after visiting President Mitterrand and the French Prime Minister, Mr Laurent Fabius, in Paris that Spain was willing to make some sacrifices to join the Community, but was not prepared to sign a blank cheque merely to gain membership.

He warned that non-admission would have negative repercussions at home. "A rejection of Spain's application would cause very serious problems," he said.

Mr Gonzalez reported that he had returned to Madrid with the impression that "the French Government appears anxious that negotiations should conclude within the set timetable. He said his government had no intention of using Spain's continued NATO membership as a bargaining point, but warned that failure to enter the EEC could produce "an isolationist reaction which would be negative to continued NATO membership."

It is understood that one of the offers made to France by Mr Gonzalez concerned the possible acceptance of the European Airbus consortium's proposal for the renewal of the Iberia airline fleet.

Many of Iberia's plans, particularly its DC-9 airliners, are nearing the end of their useful life, and the competition is heating up for this valuable contract.

Last week, a team from London demonstrated the British Aerospace 146-300 to senior Iberia and other Spanish officials, and offered valuable off-set deals if its offer was accepted. Other applications have been received from Boeing, McDonald Douglas and Fokker.

Eight pairs in Plan

Madrid: At least eight new couples paired off at the weekend fiesta organised by bachelors in search of wives in the Spanish Pyrenees village of Berioz.

"Eight couples came to me and asked me to consecrate a big bouquet of flowers at mass in honour of their new-found love," said Fr Jacinto Brallans, the local priest. Note have set a specific date for a wedding.

The three-day fiesta was the result of an advertisement placed in regional newspapers by some of the 40 bachelors of Plan, and attracted about 120 women. — AP.

Walesa faces travel curbs

Warsaw: A prosecutor imposed travel restrictions on the Solidarity leader, Mr Lech Walesa, and police detained activists of an anti-Soviet group at the weekend in a fresh crackdown on opposition by the Government.

Mr Walesa, summoned for questioning in Gdansk as a result of his call for a general strike by supporters of the banned free trade union last month, was warned not to leave the Baltic port without official permission.

The official PAP news agency said that members of the political council of the nationalistic Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) were rounded up by security police on Saturday while they held a meeting in Warsaw.

The wife of the KPN chairman, Mr Stanislaw Maculski, who was gaoled during the Solidarity upheaval for attempting to topple Communist rule, said he was among about 10 members of the organisation who were detained.

Mr Walesa told reporters he refused to reply to questioning when he answered a summons on Saturday from the prosecutors' office.

Mr Walesa said the restric-

tion was "a technically since I am watched 24 hours a day. I am not planning to go anywhere, but if I do, I shall probably not inform them. They have no problems knowing my whereabouts."

Mr Walesa and the underground leadership (TKK) called the strike for February 28, but cancelled it after the Government agreed to reconsider the price rise proposals, officially in response to criticism by Poland's new legal trade unions.

The TKK statement, issued during a press conference held by Mr Walesa after his session with the prosecutor, claimed a victory for Solidarity's strike threat in the price confrontation with the authorities.

The government decided to phase in rises adding 3 per cent to the cost of living by the end of June instead of imposing them in a package at the start of March.

The TKK said however that wage rises to compensate for the increases were inadequate and added: "If our demand for full compensation is not met by the end of April, the union will decide whether to carry out a national strike in June." — Reuter.

No to more time off

Bern: Swiss voters, who have twice said no against shortening their working week — the longest in the industrialised West — yesterday rejected a leftwing proposal for a longer holiday for 700,000 workers.

Unofficial results of a national referendum showed a two-to-one majority opposed to a draft amendment to the federal constitution that would have given all workers above the age of 40 a minimum of five weeks paid holiday.

Sponsors of the proposal, the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union Federation, said it would offer a better protection for the health of workers "whose job is becoming more and more hectic and monotonous."

They also argued that it would bring Swiss norms more into line with conditions in other European countries.

The Federal Executive, which includes two Social Democratic ministers, had urged voters to reject the proposal, warning that it would be counterproductive as employers were likely to become more reluctant to hire older workers.

Nine years ago, a proposal that would have introduced the 40-hour week in Switzerland was defeated, and the first such initiative, which had called for a 44-hour week, was rejected in 1955.

Writers lament sale of journal

From Michael White in Washington

Amid tears and recriminations, the New Yorker magazine, a fastidious bastion of fine writing and highly distinctive cartooning for more than 60 years, is to be sold for \$142 million over the heads of its editorial team.

While the New Yorker joins the \$2.7 billion magazine empire of Sir Samuel Newhouse, Jr., who already owns such titles as Vogue and Vanity Fair as well as the Random House publishing company, the threat to its Manhattan neighbourhood, Village Voice, has been abandoned.

The drama at the New Yorker, which is part of a wider shake-up in the US magazine field, started in November when Mr Newhouse acquired 17 per cent of the company. It ended at the weekend with a tearful statement to staff by its 77-year-old chief editor, Mr William Shawn, who is almost as legendary a figure in New York literary circles as his only predecessor, the late Harold Ross, who first published such writers as John O'Hara and James Thurber.

Mr Shawn told staff: "We were not asked for our approval and we did not give our approval. Nor were editorial staff consulted during the board's negotiations which have culminated in what analysts here seem to regard as a generous \$200-a-share deal given the New Yorker's staff-advertising revenue and 500,000 circulation in recent years. Early in November shares were trading at around \$130."

Mr Newhouse has promised complete editorial independence and has a respectable track record. But the magazine's writers, who enjoy extraordinary freedom in crafting their fiction and their news reporting essays, are sufficiently alarmed to have sought legal advice on the board's deal which is still to be ratified by the shareholders.

Meanwhile, Village Voice has escaped attempts to buy it for a reported \$35 million.

Behind the two attempts to buy Village Voice were Mr Howard Blum, a sometime contributor and aspiring novelist, and Mr Dan Wolf, who founded the magazine in 1955, and sold it in the mid 70s.

Mr Murdoch's spokesman confirmed that the Wolf bid had been taken seriously. What alarmed the Voice was that Mr Wolf is now an unpaid special adviser and confidant to Mr Ed Koch, Mayor of New York, who has been quoted as describing it as "a porno rag."

Strike may block cities

La Paz: Militant peasants supporting the general strike threatened at the weekend to block all roads leading into the cities. The army said it would disperse them if they tried.

Negotiations between leaders of the Bolivian Labour Confederation and the cabinet failed to end the strike that has paralysed production since Thursday. Bread has disappeared from supermarket shelves and other food has become scarce.

Peasant leaders said they would begin their blockade of the cities today.

The strike was called to support a walk-out by Bolivia's miners.

The strike is also a response to harsh economic measures introduced last month to control inflation, which economists said cost the Government 2,700 per cent last year, and to meet terms set by the International Monetary Fund. — AP.

Go to town with The Guardian

On Thursday, 11th April, The Guardian will be holding a special day at Dickens & Jones in Regent Street.

In addition to the normal temptations of this great London store, we have arranged for an intriguing selection of conversations, presentations and demonstrations throughout the day.

And through a special arrangement with British Rail, The Guardian can offer you two away-day return tickets to London for the price of one.

Your B.R. voucher for the event will be in The Guardian on April 8th, 9th and 10th.

Among the events of this most civilised of away days will be:

Writer's Forum

A chance to meet Guardian writers and talk about their work.

Family Finance Advice

A talk on your financial affairs by Margaret Dibben, author of The Guardian Guide to Family Finance.

Food & Wine

A full menu of demonstrations and conversation about cooking, drinking and serving wine and just how healthy your diet is.

Wine Tasting

A Tutored Wine Tasting presented by Haynes, Hanson and Clark, suppliers to The Guardian Wine Club.

Fashion Show

A display of Dickens & Jones's latest collections. With a competition from Roland Klein.

Careers Advice

A talk on general careers advice for women with a chance to meet representatives from different occupations.

Exercise Demonstrations

A series of dance and exercise demonstrations.

Personal Appearances

A chance to meet leading figures from the worlds of beauty and fashion. Posy Simmonds will also be signing her most recent books.

SPECIAL LUNCH

with guest speaker Peter Preston discussing his role as Editor of The Guardian.

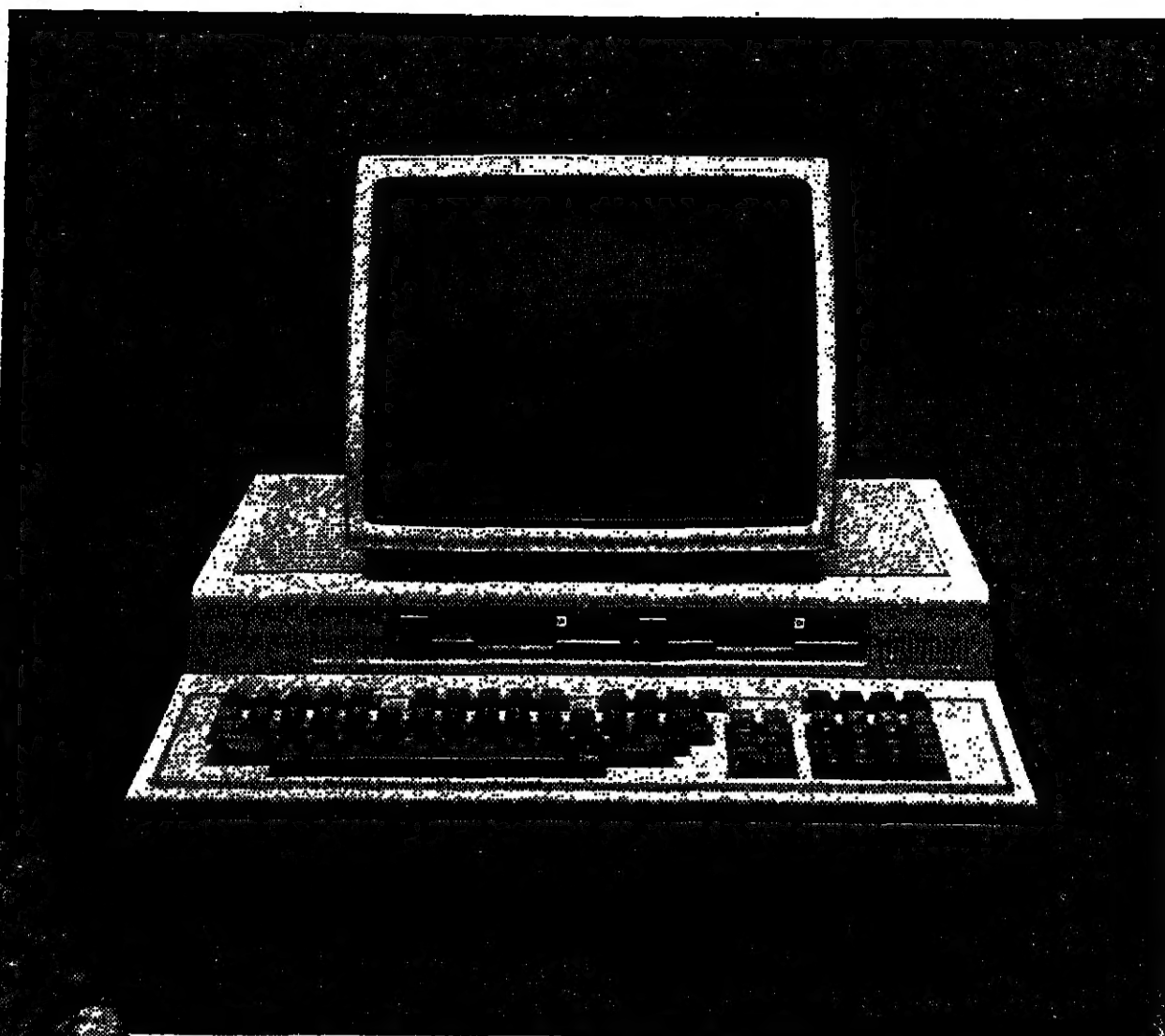
For full details including how to apply for tickets for the lunch and wine tasting see The Guardian Personal Page today.

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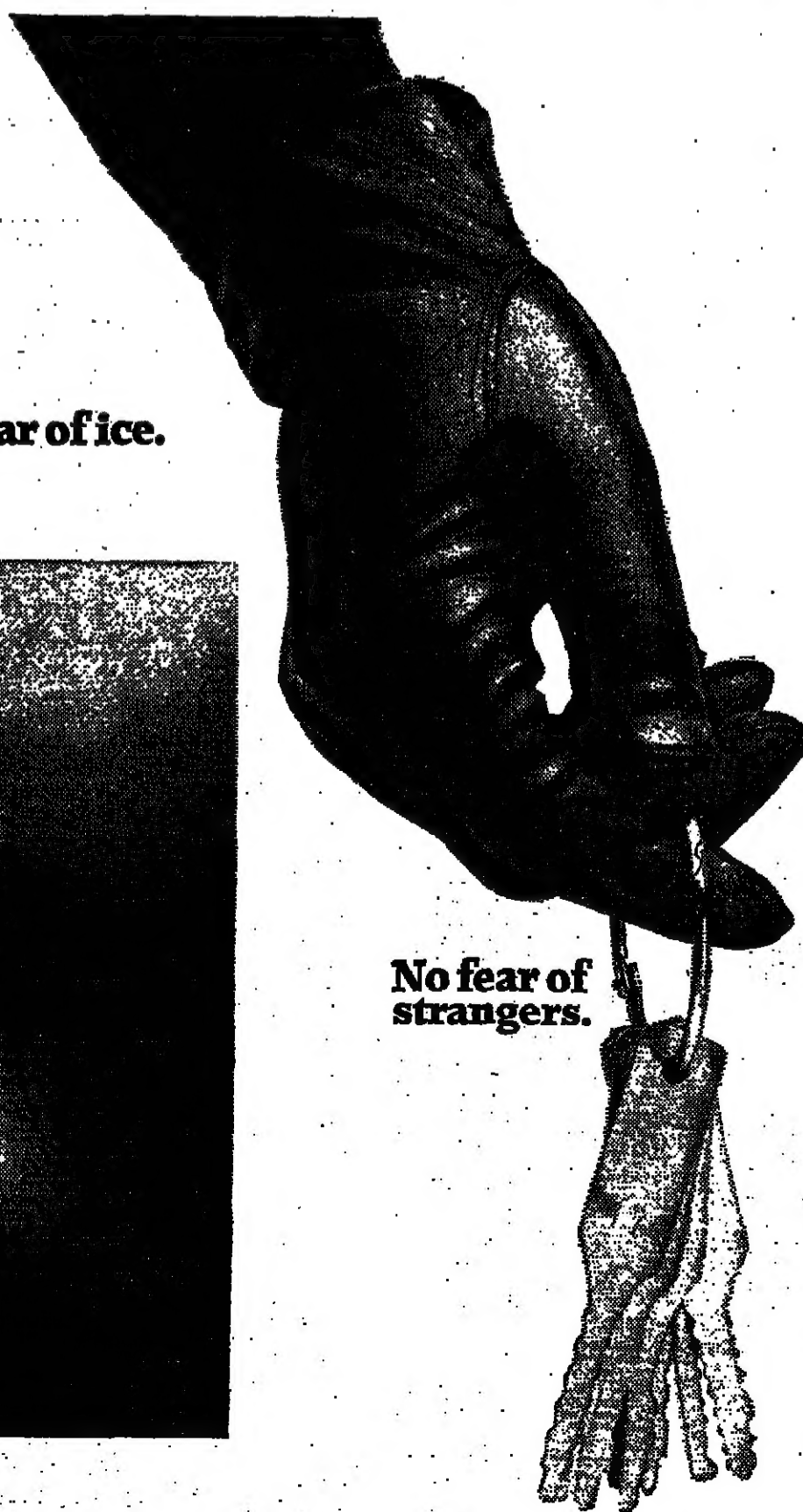


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Khomeini prepared to inflict 'the final blow'

Hundreds killed in new Iraq shelling of Iran towns

From David Hirst in Kuwait

Hundreds more people were killed and wounded yesterday as Iraqi planes and missiles struck at targets deep inside Iran on the sixth day of the latest round on the Gulf war.

At least 100 people were killed in the attacks, which would have no effect on Iran's determination to deal "the final blow" against President Saddam Hussein.

His Prime Minister, Mr. Muhsin Mousavi, declared that Iran was ready to fight for another 30 years.

Iraq said that its warplanes hit two cities in Iran and attacked a naval target in the Gulf in nearly 300 sorties yesterday, as Iran continued shelling the southern Iraqi port of Basra.

A military communiqué said that Iraqi planes hit at Iranian targets and troop concentrations all over the 785 miles Gulf war front, and all returned safely to base.

Iraqi jets twice raided Isfahan, Iran's ancient royal seat, 250 miles from the border — the deepest raids yet in the

current upsurge of attacks — and Tabriz in the north-west Azerbaijan province, the communiqué said.

The communiqué said that four Iranian jets had approached the northern Iraqi town of Margasur, 30 miles from the border, but were driven off by anti-aircraft fire.

In a series of "provisional" reports during the day, the official Iranian news agency, IRNA, said that enemy planes and missiles hit eight towns, including Isfahan, at least 250 miles from the frontier with Iraq.

In air raids on the towns of Marivan and Baneh in the northern province of Kurdistan 120 people were killed and 300 wounded. Then ground-to-ground missiles struck at the towns of Andimeshk and Ramhormuz in the southern oil-producing province of Khuzestan. First official reports said that 10 people were killed and "hundreds" wounded.

Later, planes struck at the towns of Salehah and Nahavand, 60 and 130 miles

respectively from the frontier in the central sector. A large, but unspecified number of people were killed or wounded. Asbaban, a largely deserted town on the Shatt al-Arab estuary, was the target of three air raids as well as continuing artillery bombardment.

In the raid on Isfahan, 15 people were wounded by air-to-surface missiles. Isfahan, where many foreign technicians, including Britons, live, was not included on the list of 30 towns which Iraq had earlier threatened to attack.

In the continuing tanker war, an Iraqi military spokesman said that Iraqi planes had "dealt a direct and effective blow against a large maritime target near Kharg Island." This is the 37th ship Iraq claims to have hit this year. The strike has not been independently confirmed.

Iraq yesterday claimed that its aircraft struck, among other things, a refinery and a barracks near Khanaqin, on the frontier 80 miles north of Baghdad. The raid inflicted heavy losses and the refinery was set on fire.

The Iranian raids, said IRNA, were in retaliation for earlier Iraqi attacks, which by Saturday night were said to have killed 300 people and wounded about a thousand.

Iraq has made no mention of the Iranian air raids — which appear to be the first on such a scale by the depleted Iranian air force for several months.

But, according to the Iraqi news agency, the southern port of Basra came "under continuous heavy shelling from eight on Saturday evening to ten on Sunday morning."

The Baghdad newspaper Al-Jumhuriyah said that a number of people, including students, had been killed in Basra on Saturday, with 150 shells falling on the city in the course of an hour.



The Iraqi raid on the city of Khorramabad at the weekend in which 100 people died

Beirut told to hurry

Beirut: The Syrian Vice-President, Mr. Abdel-Halim Khaddam, meeting rival Lebanese leaders for talks, has said that he wants a speedy settlement on Lebanese political reforms, political sources said.

Few other details emerged from discussions late into the night between Mr. Khaddam, President Gemayel, the Prime Minister, Mr. Karami, and the Druze and Shiite Muslim ministers, Mr. Jumblatt and Mr. Berri.

Mr. Jumblatt and Mr. Berri have been boycotting Cabinet meetings to demand implementation of political reforms to give Lebanon's Muslim majority a greater share in government.

PLO urged to nominate moderates for US talks

From Ian Black in Cairo

Egypt and Jordan are urging the PLO to be flexible and nominate moderate Palestinian leaders to represent it in talks with the US, top Arab President Mubarak's recent proposals to gather momentum.

This is one of the points that the Egyptian leader, who arrived in the US on Saturday, will be making when he meets President Reagan in Washington tomorrow, in his effort to convince the US of the serious nature of the Arab initiative.

President Mubarak said in a newspaper interview two weeks ago that a Jordanian/Palestinian delegation should begin a dialogue with the US,

and then with Israel at a later stage.

Egyptian officials now say privately, however, that if the new moves are to bear fruit, then the PLO leader, Mr. Yasser Arafat, will have to give a mandate to Palestinians who are not directly linked to the guerrilla organisation.

"If the Palestinians want to move the initiative forward they will have to have some of the traditional leaders to represent them," one senior official said here yesterday.

Both Israel and the US refuse to deal with the PLO until it ceases its armed struggle and recognises Israel's right to exist. Egypt and Jordan

are therefore using a wider definition of what constitutes the PLO than the guerrilla organisation itself.

Sources here and in Amman say that the best candidates for the job would be Palestinian leaders living in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, and academics of Palestinian origin with American citizenship. Israel has indicated that it might accept an arrangement of this kind.

President Mubarak has described the Amman pact between King Hussein of Jordan and Mr. Arafat as a "golden opportunity" which for the first time ever commits the Palestinians to the principle of land exchange for peace.



Moscow signals mixed

From Martin Walker in Moscow

The new French Foreign Minister, Mr. Roland Dumas, arrived in Moscow yesterday, the last western statesman to hold direct talks with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, before the second round of US-Soviet talks begins in Geneva tomorrow.

In the last two weeks, Mr. Gromyko has paid formal visits to Rome and Madrid and talked with the French and West German foreign ministers in Moscow. Another Politburo member, Mr. Vladimir Shcherbitsky, has held talks with President Reagan in Washington.

Each of these meetings has been used by the Soviet side as a platform to stress their hostility to the American Star Wars research programme. But to the surprise of some Western diplomats in Moscow, Mr. Gromyko seems to have dropped his traditional policy of being warm to the Western European powers and frosty to the Americans.

The Italians and Germans, two of the European countries deploying the new American medium range missiles and backing the Star Wars research project, were treated with distinct courtesy. Some American diplomats in Moscow yesterday were optimistic that this meant that the Kremlin had finally accepted that the NATO powers were united on these two issues.

US team ready to be flexible

From Michael White in Geneva

The White House has announced that its arms talks team has gone to Geneva with an unprecedented degree of flexibility permitted them by President Reagan except in the Administration's determination to pursue its Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) research programme — Star Wars.

There persists some strong hope in official circles that this time the Russians may be willing to make progress at the strategic arms level now that the US's own modernisation programme has restored the incentive.

But the official mood varies, at one moment cautiously hopeful, at the next warning that at best Geneva will be a long haul. In particular, attempts are made to dampen down expectations arising from the President's own rhetoric the non-nuclear defensive strategies in space — the Star Wars nickname — can lead to real nuclear disarmament.

In a gloomy editorial yesterday, the New York Times complained that limited arms control had depended on a shared concept of stability between the superpowers, albeit one resting on what amounted to a "balance of terror". This was being undermined both by the research and deployments on both sides.

With neither side willing to accept an overwhelming offensive or defensive capacity, in the hands of its opponents "either everything is negotiable or nothing is," the paper said. A Washington Post article emphasised how far the two sides

had drifted, not just on weapons and numbers but upon the basic ground rules.

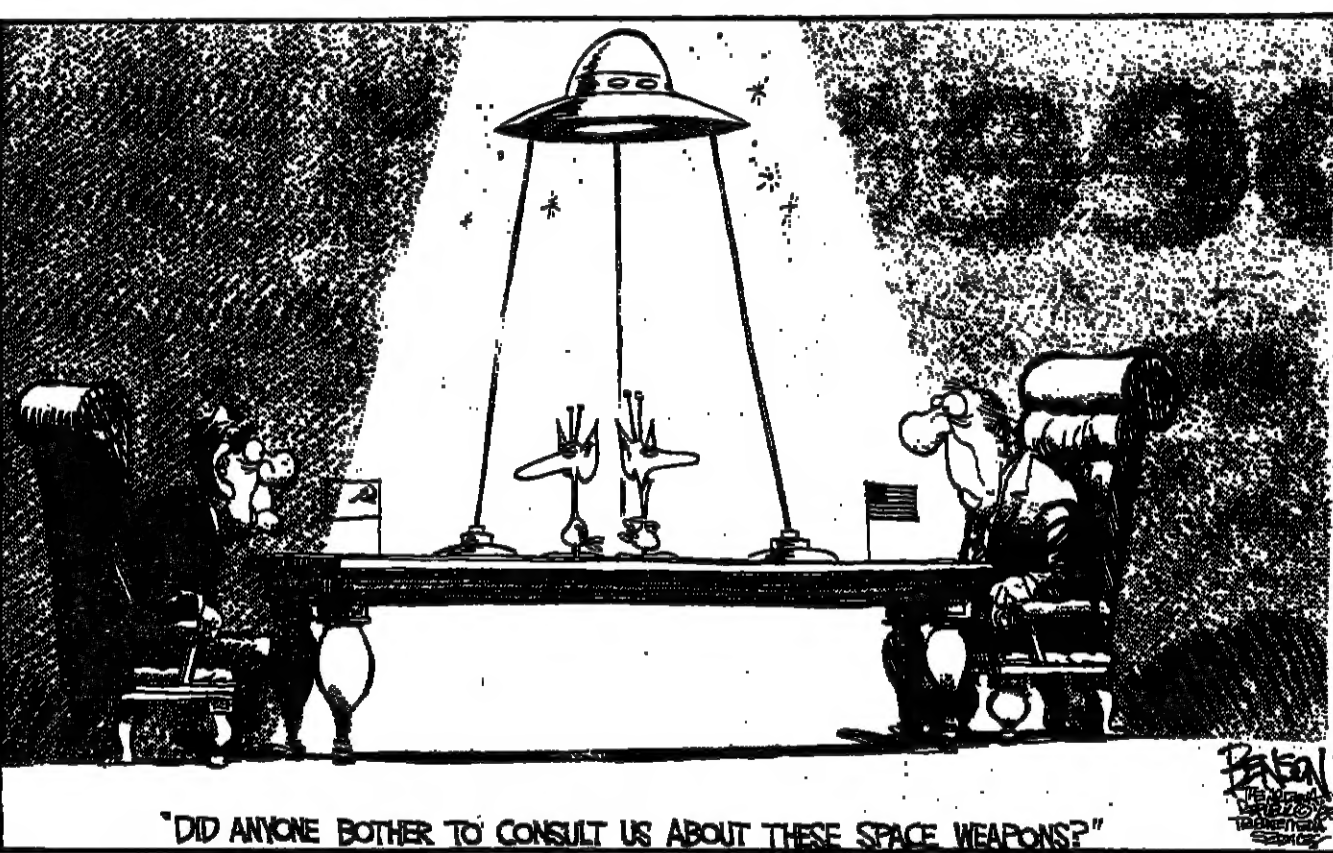
Yet such an experienced arms negotiator as Mr. Paul Nitze was able to appear on one of the local equivalents of the World Economic Forum and sound positive. Mr. Nitze, a presidential confidante for 30 years, said that the Russians had promised never to return to the strategic or intermediate missile talks because of the cruise-Pershing deployment row. But were now back in new talks. It was "certainly not impossible" that sensible agreement could be reached.

On Star Wars he stressed there was no question of negotiating the research. But should it prove feasible negotiation on a transitional phase towards a defence-oriented strategy would follow. As for the third phase, the elimination of nuclear weapons, he recalled that such a policy had been Mr. Khrushchev's ambition back in 1959.

"In those days it was merely a propaganda goal because no one knew how to get from here to there. Today, if SDI works, we think there is a way in which we can."

With the scientific and strategic debate about Star Wars still raging fiercely, the President has not let up in his attempts to swing Congress behind his latest budget demands for more MX missiles in the name of national unity before Geneva.

MX is part of the strategic weapons modernisation, though arguably a less important one than the Trident submarine missile programme or the B1-bomber.



Genesis of Geneva's fresh start

From Bella Pick in Geneva

WHEN US and Soviet arms negotiators shake hands in Geneva tomorrow morning it will be the first time since the collapse of superpower arms negotiations in November 1983.

That was when the Russians carried out their warnings to break off the two-year-old INF negotiations to limit intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe, as a protest against the first deployments of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Britain and West Germany. Shortly afterwards the Russians reinforced their protest by announcing that they would not resume the other major Geneva arms talks, the START negotiations to reduce the superpowers' strategic arsenals.

Soviet Union also took retaliatory measures, including the stationing of nuclear missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. For most of last year, the Kremlin insisted on two conditions before it would even consider a resumption of nuclear arms control talks. NATO would not only have to remove all cruise and Pershing II missiles already stationed in Western Europe, but should abandon altogether its plan to station 572 intermediate-range nuclear missiles there as part of its effort to counter Soviet SS20 missiles targeted on the European members of NATO.

Despite hesitation in the Netherlands and Belgium, both of which have yet to take their final decisions on the deployment of cruise missiles, NATO stood firm against the Soviet campaign to kill the NATO Euro-missile modernisation plan.

Last year there was a policy review in the Kremlin. There was one false start, when the Russians proposed new negotiations to prevent the militarisation of space, and suggested a first meeting in Vienna last September. The US was reluctant, a discounter by NATO, that space weapons could not be tackled in isolation without also negotiating about

offensive nuclear weapons. The initiative lapsed into oblivion.

Then, late in September, when it became obvious to the Russians that President Reagan would be re-elected, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister, went first to the UN General Assembly, and then held long meetings in Washington with President Reagan and his Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz.

That proved to be the genesis of the new talks which were agreed in January during the meeting in Geneva between Mr. Shultz and Mr. Gromyko.

On occasion the Russians finally dropped their conditions about reversing the NATO Euro-missile deployments. They agreed with the Americans that a far more ambitious negotiating framework should be set up in the past, and that the key issue of offensive nuclear weapons should be related to the problem of defensive space weapons, which are for the most part still only in the research stage.

Three working groups are to be set up under one umbrella. The first group will handle strategic nuclear arms. The second will handle intermediate-range nuclear weapons; the third will deal with space weapons.

The negotiations of the three groups will be supervised by the leader of the two teams, Mr. Max Kampelman for the US and Mr. Viktor Karpov for the Soviet Union.

Mr. Kampelman is an experienced Washington lawyer, a conservative Democrat, and a hardliner on relations with the Soviet Union, who led the US delegation at the Madrid Review Conference of the Helsinki Declaration. He lacks specialist knowledge in arms control, but is considered to have strong bipartisan support in Washington, and President Reagan's confidence.

He will lead not only the US delegation, but also the US team on space weapons.

The other key members of the US team are former Senator John Tower and career diplomat Mr. Maynard Gilman,

and then with Israel at a later stage.

Mr. Gilman will handle the intermediate-range weapon talks, having already served as Mr. Paul Nitze's deputy at the earlier INF talks.

Mr. Karpov is one of the Soviet Union's most experienced arms control negotiators, going back to the first SALT I negotiations. He led the START negotiations during 1982 and 1983, and will this time again head the Soviet team on strategic arms.

Mr. Yuri Kvitsinsky, who is also highly experienced and headed the INF negotiations for the Soviet Union, will this time lead the Soviet side on space talks. He and Mr. Nitze made history of sorts when they devised their now famous "walk-in-the-woods" formula for striking a bargain over intermediate-range missiles. It is still thought that was the nearest approach to a realistic agreement on these weapons.

But both men were repudiated by their masters, and their proposal seems unlikely to be revived.

A Soviet newcomer will head the intermediate-range missile group this time. He is Mr. Alex Obukhov, a career diplomat, who has not taken part in any previous Geneva negotiations. His appointment suggests that the Soviet Union has downgraded this group of talks, and does not intend to move far from its basic view that NATO must reverse the cruise and Pershing deployments before it will advance any meaningful concessions.

While the agenda on intermediate-range and strategic arms is fairly clear, and is bound to pick up the threads of the earlier negotiations, the two space teams will be on virgin territory.

There is no common understanding on the ground to be covered, even though both sides are committed to negotiating the "prevention of an arms race in space". The Americans believe there is lit-

tle to negotiate at this stage, and want to concentrate on the implications for future strategic stability of the space technology now being researched.

The Soviet Union wants to reach agreement on the demilitarisation of space, and obtain a US commitment to halt its Strategic Defence Initiative. Both sides are likely to accuse the other of violating the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which restricts the development of defensive weapons; and both may also insist on a reaffirmation of that treaty.

The Soviet Union is certain to assert from the outset that all three groups of negotiations must remain interrelated, and that agreement can only be reached on a package involving all three elements. The US acknowledges the linkage but is already arguing that agreement on one issue should not be allowed to hold up the rest.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Thailand in peace effort

THE Australian Foreign Minister, Mr. Bill Hayden, said in Singapore yesterday that Thailand had asked him to continue his efforts to bring peace to Kampuchea despite the severe setbacks caused by Vietnamese incursions into Thai territory.

Mr. Hayden, on the final leg of a southeast Asian tour, said that the Thai Foreign Minister, Mr. Siddhi Savetsila, had made clear there could be no negotiations until Vietnam ended its violations of Thai territory.

Mr. Hayden, who visited Vietnam, Laos, Malaysia and Thailand, said that Australia would keep its offer open to host an international conference on Kampuchea, although there was no "genuine commitment" by the parties concerned at present. —Reuters.

Boycott ends

GRENADE'S sole non-government MP has agreed to end his boycott of parliament and has founded a new opposition party, giving the regime of the pro-American Prime Minister, Mr. Herbert Blaize, a more democratic image. Greg Chamberlain reports.

The MP, Mr. Marcel Pichay, announced that he and two senior aides of Sir Eric Gairy, Mr. Oliver Rabeurn and Mr. Albert Forsythe, had broken with Sir Eric, who ordered the boycott, and had formed a new conservative party, the Grenada Democratic Labour Party.

Pope jury

THE jury for the trial of eight men charged in connection with the shooting of the Pope in 1981 will be picked on Monday in brief proceedings. Mr. Adolfo Larussa, the lawyer for one of the defendants, the Bulgarian Sergei Tsoukov, told the court in Rome yesterday. He said the trial would begin on May 27. —AP.

Bail opposed

SIXTEEN South Africans due to appear in the country's biggest treason trial for 25 years are likely to remain in jail for up to two years, whether innocent or guilty, lawyers said yesterday. Natal's attorney-general has issued an order forbidding bail so the 16 could thus be held in jail until the end of the trial, which is expected to start in June and last at least 18 months. —Reuters.

Thatcher visit

MRS THATCHER will visit the Sultanate of Brunei on April 9, the Brunei-based Borneo Bulletin said yesterday. It said the visit was the first British Prime Minister. —AP.

Soft landing

A THREE-year-old girl who plunged 14 storeys down at garbage chute was saved by a pile of rubbish, Chicago police said at the weekend. She escaped with minor injuries after spending the night in the rubbish. —AP.

Deaths at sea

THREE men and a boy, suspected of trying to sneak into Hong Kong from China, died yesterday after they were picked up at sea by a police launch which found them clinging to a tyre. Officials said. A fifth member of the group was admitted to hospital in fair condition. —Reuters.

Charter find

A PRICELESS parchment page of a 1629 land grant charter signed by King Charles I which was stolen last August, was returned to the State House Archives in Boston at the weekend after being seized in a drugs raid. Part of the Massachusetts Bay Charter, it was found in a cupboard in a Boston flat along with antique oriental rugs, and a number of guns. —Reuters.

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MINISTRY OF ENERGY AND CHEMICAL AND PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

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- LOT NO. 2: ELECTRIC ENGINES FROM 1 TO 10 HORSEPOWER STANDARD AMERICAN
- LOT NO. 3: SPARE PARTS FOR COOLING AND AIRCONDITIONING OF THE FOLLOWING US BRANDS: BRADLEY, CARRIER, COPELAND, CRYSTAL, FRIEDRICH, GENERAL ELECTRIC NORLAK, HC, QUAY, TAYLOR, WESTINGHOUSE, LE HIGH AND IMPERIAL EASTMAN.

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Those tenderers who are interested in this call for tenders may obtain specifications from the following address: ENAFOR, Département Achats (Purchasing Section), 1 Place Bir Hakeim, El-Biar, Alger, with effect from the date of publication of this notice.

Offers drawn up in 8 (eight) copies should be sent in a double sealed envelope by registered post: the outer envelope must be anonymous, bearing no company insignia or lettering from the tenderer's company stating only APPEL D'OFFRES INTERNATIONALES NO. EX-04/85 - LOT NO. 1, 2, 3 - CONFIDENTIEL - A NE PAS OUVRIR - ENAFOR - DÉPARTEMENT ACHATS - 1 PLACE BIR-HAKEIM, EL-BIAR, ALGER, ALGERIA.

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Crisis meeting called after
flood of homeless increases

UN demands \$1.5bn for emergency in Africa

From Iain Guest in Geneva
The UN's emergency operation for Africa will seek about \$1.5 billion of aid for 20 African countries at a two-day meeting that starts here today. The request is easily the largest sum demanded by the UN for an emergency in recent years. It is based on UN estimates that 30 million people are affected by the drought. Of these, 10 million have been forced to leave their homes.

The meeting is due to be opened by the UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar. Four African presidents — from Tanzania, Niger, Botswana, and Djibouti — have said that they will attend. Mr George Bush, the US Vice-President, is expected to announce a sizeable American contribution following his trip to the refugee camps in Sudan and West Africa.

After the formal statements on Monday and Tuesday, there will be a series of six private meetings through to Friday on the contribution to the emergency. The 20 countries by the end of this year. The largest sums are being requested for Ethiopia (\$379.5 million), Sudan (\$191.3 million), Mali (\$159.5 million), and Niger (\$149.7 million).

The figure of \$1.5 billion includes \$1.043 billion for food aid. The rest is for water projects, health services, and improving roads and ports. In addition, the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) still requires another \$53 million for refugees in the Horn of Africa and the Central African Republic. On February 7 the UNHCR launched an appeal for \$97 million.

The target of \$1.5 billion far exceeds the \$1.25 billion requested for African refugees at a special conference here in April 1981. According to diplomatic sources, Western diplomats have already asked the director of the UN office for emergency operations in Africa, Mr Bradford Morse, to scale down the appeal.

Mr Morse said on Friday that the figures were being adjusted daily, depending on the situation in Africa. Observers here predicted that the emergency plan would meet two principal objections from Western donors: first, that the UN is trying to slip in requests for development aid, like health services and roads, under the umbrella of the emergency. Second, that most of the figures have been supplied by Governments, which have a tendency to exaggerate.

Mr Morse met both these arguments on Friday. He insisted that the requests have been thoroughly checked, and also that they cover only emergency needs. It makes little sense, he said, to send in food aid if the roads and ports are unable to handle it.

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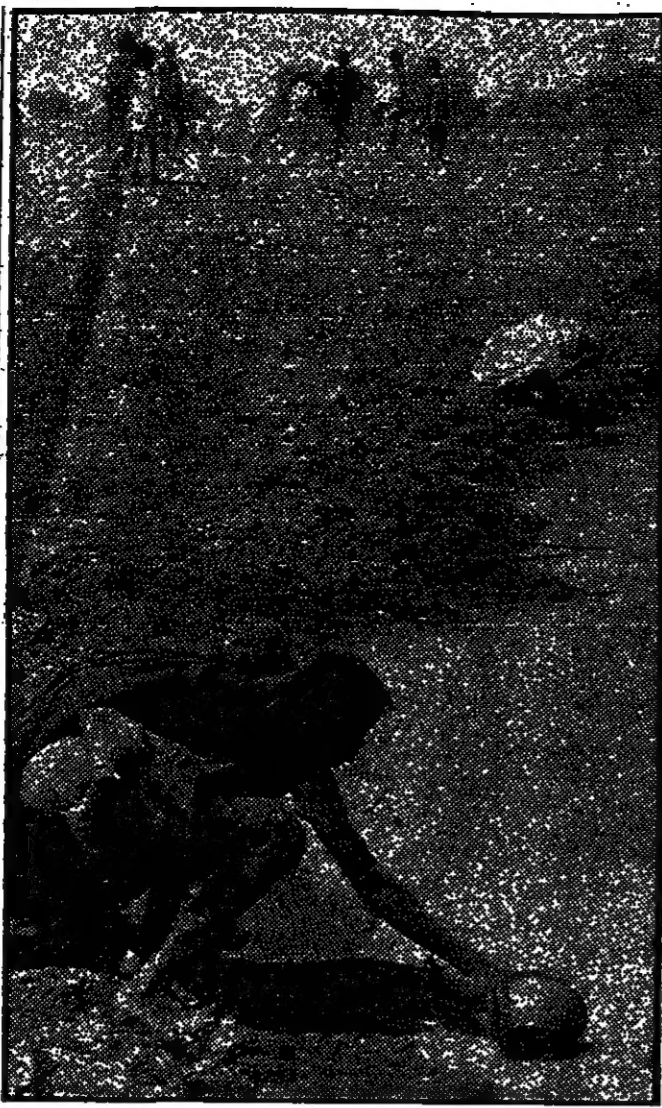
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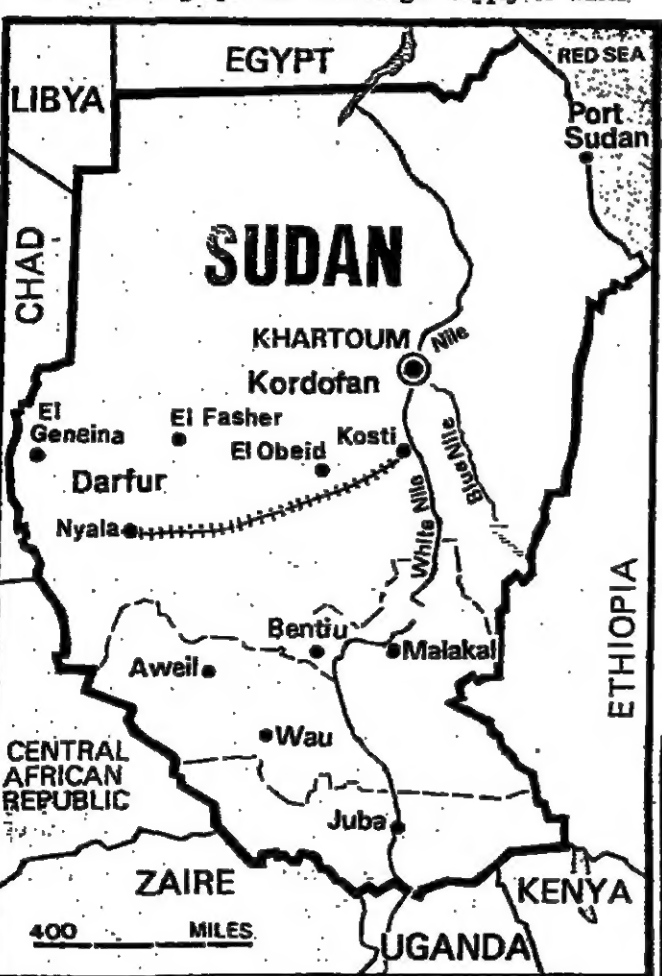
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A Sudanese gropes for the meagre supply of water



Sudan: famine strikes millions in arid expanses of the west

Nick Cater describes the search for grazing in the worst drought in memory

THE mosque's prayer call walls through the darkness before dawn in Nyala to be met by the first cries of hungry babies in the nearby camp of thorn bush and grass mat shelters.

The camp in western Sudan is home to thousands of Sudanese and Chadians who walked out of their villages far to the north when last year's crops failed after meagre rains.

This is the other dimension of Sudan's famine crisis. Along the eastern border with Ethiopia refugees from Eritrea and Tigre are still pouring into the country. But there is hunger throughout Sudan and here in the west, the Sudanese themselves are on the move, together with many from Chad.

Perhaps a million of western Sudan's six million population is already drifting through Darfur and Kordofan regions to end up, often exhausted and sick, around any village where a day's hard digging in a wadi — the dry bed of a seasonal river — will find a little water.

The women and children at the Nyala camp have been left behind to depend on handouts and the relief agencies' efforts, while most men press on south or east, seeking grazing for their few remaining animals or begging for work on agricultural schemes along the Nile.

Nafsa, surrounded by children in her roofless shelter of cloth draped on bushes, says she came here a few weeks ago after walking with other families from their village 200 miles away in North Darfur.

"The rains have been poor for two or three years and last year we had hardly any rain. The dura (sorghum) we had planted would not grow. There was no grass for the animals; so we had to leave."

Some of the animals died and we sold the rest for food. We came here because we heard there was food. My husband has gone with other men to the Nile. There are shortages here, but I get dura, some oil and onions, and there is water."

Reaching all the victims of Sudan's worst drought is living memory — environmental refugees as some dub them — will not be easy in the vast regions of Darfur and Kordofan, which together stretch 700 miles from Khartoum to Chad and a little more from the border with southern Sudan to the trackless desert disappearing into Libya.

Even if the rains do come in June, most of the tracks

through the scrub, sand, and low trees will dissolve in deep mud, impassable to anything on wheels.

The crisis was predicted. By early 1984, after two poor harvests, anyone looking carefully could see the first signals in Sudan of the famine already destroying Ethiopia. Rising grain and fodder costs began to depress animal prices, the poorest people started to move, selling possessions, such as jewellery, and gathering the lower level foods of grass seeds and berries.

All that was needed was for the rains to fail. Fortunately for Western Sudan, when they did, the US Agency for International Development has already sent in a precautionary request for large additional supplies of sorghum, Sudan's staple grain. The first ship arrived in November as the full scope of the harvest — a 1.9 million tonne deficit — became clear. A second request for grain has gone in; a third sugar, drugs, vaccines, and

are helpful but they have almost no fuel.

As reports come in every day of migrant groups, sometimes thousands strong, running out of food, Ms Karen Twining of Oxfam, who set up the charity's western office in El Fasher in December, and Dr Chris Daniell have joined Care and Save the Children staff in covering thousands of miles by Land-Rover to prepare for a series of nutritional surveys to pinpoint needs.

The agencies' attention until now has focused on the northern provinces of both regions, where the worst death and malnutrition rates have been found. But village after village has been abandoned — one last act is usually to rip apart termite mounds for the grain the insects collect — and the effort is shifting, following hungry people as they hurry south to where some food remains.

The thousands of extra people are putting enormous pressure on food, water, and other resources, using up grazing intended to last until June and then cutting down trees for animal fodder or firewood.

The influx has sharpened traditional conflicts between nomads and pastoralists, banditry is increasing and people have already been killed in fighting. The pressures will rise even further, as many more people are expected to move north into Darfur and Kordofan from southern Sudan, where the drought is deepening, but armed rebellion prevents foreign relief efforts.

The crisis is only round the corner for all the villages. Their cattle look fairly well fed, but the grazing that should last three more months is almost gone, and for many the only money is in making charcoal. At every tea house, the small talk fits the larger misery: "We haven't got too much food, and we had only a few kilos of the American grain... yes, many people have passed through, though the nomads we usually see never came... there are some strangers living out by the wadi..."

About 80 miles south, at Lake Safa, the women wait patiently for their turn to raise the buckets from the muddy water 12 feet down their hand-dug well. A beggar, or two cringe before the foragers, while the men sip tea, discuss their neighbours who have already left and stare across the half mile of the lake that has been dry mud for a year.

USaid signed a deal with a joint American-Sudanese firm, Arkel-Talah, for carrying half the grain to Kordofan's capital, El Obeid, via Khartoum, and taking the rest by road to Kosti, from where it goes to Nyala along a single rail line.

With the USaid money and fuel, Save the Children in Darfur and the American agency Care in Kordofan are creating distribution networks to the remotest villages, using everything from traders' pick-up lorries to camels and donkeys.

Much more than grain will be needed, soon, to avert malnutrition among children in particular, rather than simple starvation. Usaid has outpaced everyone, but other agencies and governments will have to find the extra dried milk and oil, lentils and soya beans, and sugar, drugs, vaccines, and

PRESIDENT Jafar Numeiri said in Khartoum yesterday that a Muslim group was plotting a takeover in Sudan and he promised measures to foil it. President Numeiri, broadcasting on Omdurman Radio, did not name the group or the foreign power which it said was arming it. But a crackdown appeared likely against the Muslim Brotherhood, formally banned as a political party. President Numeiri said the unidentified subversive group appeared publicly under such names as Islamic Front and Islamic Trend. These are known as Brotherhood organisations. —Renter.

is being prepared.

The yala migrants are hungry. Close to the supply lines being built, they have a far better chance of good food supplies than the makeshift settlements around the border town of El Geneina, 200 miles north-west, where the largest camp ran out of food last week.

Amid sickly children coughing in the hot dry air of the tented feeding centre, the albino children of two sisters briefly become the centre of attention at the weighing station, while a leading camp worker, Mr Andrew Cowley, of the UN High Commission for Refugees, ran through the terse shorthand of famine management — tonnages, malnutrition levels, immunisation rates — with Save the Children's Sudan chief Mr Andrew Tlapson.

A priority for the camp was agreed, and by today it should have received grain supplies after a 12,500-mile lorry and rail journey from Port Sudan of date, and district officials

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Nkomo hits at 'fascists'

Belawaya: The opposition leader, Mr Joshua Nkomo, made a vitriolic attack on the Mugabe government yesterday at a rally attended by 50,000 supporters to launch his campaign for the general election scheduled for mid-June.

Mr Nkomo said the elections were "a fraud before they started." The crowd ululated and whistled approval when he added: "Independence without freedom is meaningless, and there is no freedom in this country."

He denounced the government as "led by fascists; not even comparable to Hitler."

Mr Nkomo alleged that Mugabe loyalists have abducted and murdered 378 people in Masobeleland as part of an ongoing exercise to bring fear and intimidate people to vote for Mugabe's Zanu (PF) party.

On the election campaign, Mr Nkomo said: "People are forced to attend Zanu (PF) meetings at the points of guns. They are forced to buy Zanu (PF) cards at the points of guns... is this freedom?" The crowd roared back "No."

He alleged the government was putting obstacles in the way of opposition parties, holding political rallies. He said that in Harare, the capital, his party was told it would have to take out an insurance policy of \$80,000 to hire a municipal stadium because of the fear of faction fighting. —AP.

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More pull, Better work,
Less of a Drag.

Where is the essence of woman to be discovered these days, when the very word feminine conjures up an image that so many have spent so long escaping?

AND THEN, into the images of anger and confusion that were the legacy of the seventies, there came another, new-minted for a new decade from the very coinage of others, in a skirt of stuff so modest in its quality that clever photographers could set her against the light to steal a glimpse of her shapely legs. And the hero really was a Prince who battled through trial by rumour and speculation and more photographers to claim her as his own. And when she turned out to be not humble at all, but of noble and ancient lineage, then that was just as it should be. And when they married, there was an outburst of joy in the land, the like of which had not been felt for many years.

And what an outburst of Princess Di look-alikes there was, too, which is perhaps not surprising, for fairy-tales have been called the purest and simplest expression of the psychic processes of the collective unconscious that there is, and that is why we tell and retell them and want them enacted as well. Time was, in the days at the start of the decade, when hairdressers had to be told not to make it a Princess Di cut. High fashion brought back romance and the waist, that symbol of virginity and promise, the chain-stores found a profusion of frilly-necked blouses. And if the cynical put down the craze for flat-heeled shoes to the fact that princesses must at least be seen not to be looking over their prince's head, then the cynic who warred against high heels as symbol of woman hobbled could enjoy the fashion too.

But this decade has already thrown up another image of woman too, and it could hardly be more different, for it derives its power not from woman as exalted by the position of her man, but from woman seeking strength and energy from the very fact that she is separated from his world, and united against the very symbols of his dominance. The Princess of Wales is now the very type of radiant young motherhood; with the birth of her two sons she has ensured not just the royal dynasty but something of a sense of national security as well.

The women of Greenham are singing for all our lives as they try to nurture Mother Earth herself against annihilation. Yet it is as a threat to national security that they are seen by many and often abused by its guardians; and those who do not salute their courage condemn them as unnatural — and dirty, butch or simply crazy as well. The contrast could hardly be greater.

Yet it was not some nostalgic reassurance that was this season's surprise success on television, but

Tenko. And what did that evoke but the image of women united in their battle against an alien and dangerous masculine world, trying to maintain their essence and to build a future for themselves and for others, too?

Early yet to see what the 1980s will throw up as images of that future, so contradictory do the signs so far seem. On these very pages and in the past few weeks, we can learn that feminism is dead and that "twittering femininity" is the mood of America now, with "teeny weeny Nancy Reagan, coiffed and painted, staring up adoringly at her orange-haired hero" as its expression and caricature, perhaps, of our own young royal pair.

But there are images, too, of women building their bodies against who knows what battles to come, and seeking their own and independent expression. We can read of the death of the image of woman as housewife and of the indignation and anger with which women protest that they find it holds honour for them. We can learn that fashion decrees an eroticism in dress for men and women both; and what is that about but bringing them together? We can recall that in Sex and Destiny Germaine Greer last year cried out her anger and pain against a sterilisation of so many bodies that stood metaphor for the very sterility of Western civilisation itself.

And in the confusions we are assailed by images that blur the sexual distinctions altogether. Travesty has ever been fun and sexy, from the music hall to Marlene Dietrich, from Danny la Rue, to a hundred pub-bound look-alikes, and before and since. But these days it is not just parody, nor even the friendliness of Unisex or the fashionable bi-sexuality of the 1970s with which we are confronted. In Boy George as the young girls' darling, in Eva Mattes' extraordinary cinematic evocation of Fassbinder in A Man Like Eva, we are looking at something else again: the image of androgyny, of the unity in one person of the masculine characteristics that history has associated with the male of the species and the feminine ones that it has associated with the female.

But Boy George is part of the mass-culture. A Man Like Eva is specialist stuff for the arts buffs. It has become important, in some circles, for men to discover their own femininity and give it expression in caring for their children, talking of their feelings. But when women put on their gents' natty suits to go to the office in these days that mark the tenth anniversary of a woman at the height of power in offices, political (and hard economic) line for very many others, maybe no one is any too sure whether the fact that the suits are over-sized is a joke at male pomposities or a statement that the image doesn't really fit.

No simple coincidence, perhaps, that anorexia nervosa is the type of the disease of young



THE CHANGING IMAGE V: In the last part of her series on how women have shaped the decades since the war, Ann Shearer looks at the Eighties

Illustration by Peter Clarke

women now — for that art of starvation not only promises control of the shape that distinguishes the female body, but leads to a cessation of menstruation as well. Where is the essence of woman to be discovered these days, when the very word "feminine" conjures up so many an image of sugar and spice and all things that they have spent so long escaping?

It was not the Princess of Wales nor the Prime Minister who can claim to have had anything to do with the lightning flash that fired York Minister last year and whose embers are smouldering still. For that had to do with a resurgence of an image of woman which holds a place in our civilisation to which neither of them can ever be approached.

Of all the extraordinary lessons that can be drawn from the Bishop of Durham's public musings on, among other matters, the symbolic rather than the literal truth of the Virgin Birth of Christ, one of the most extraordinary is this: that in all the public discussions and arguments and interviews and debates the question has nearly always been among men and around what, if anything, Durham's thesis says about the divinity of Christ, and rarely indeed among women and around what it says about the nature of Mary herself.

At the level of the world, perhaps this is hardly surprising, for it is in the older churches and their organisation that that type of the patriarchy is most clearly expressed. Six of the 16 Anglican provinces may now ordain women as priests; but the quiet determination of the Movement for the Ordination of Women has flushed out images of womanhood that had seemed long dead and gone. Where else but in theological circles would there be debate on whether women are unequal when

they menstruate, or whether their sexuality debars them from the finer expressions of the spirit?

Yet it is for this very reason, perhaps, that anyone who is seeking for images of woman to inform us now, whether atheist, agnostic or believer, could do a lot worse than to acquaint themselves with this battleground. For the image of Mary, Mother of God, Seat of Wisdom, Queen of Heaven, is the one which is still the ground of all others. She is who is held up, or put down, and whichever way underpins all the rest as the very type of woman's ideal — an image so impossible in her perfection as both virgin and mother that all the rest, lacking the grace of immaculate Conception that allowed her alone to be born without the taint of original sin, are cast forever in the split image of woman as either virgin or whore. It is she alone who is spared the association of sexuality and motherhood, while all others inherit the curse of Eve.

Not for nothing did a recent collection of essays from the Movement for the Ordination of Women call itself *Feminine in the Church* (SPCK, 1984). The very connotation of a concept that has come to denote frivolity, frivolity, something less than serious, with its subject-matter caused, as the authors well knew, something of a shudder of anxiety among even their friends. But that, as Monica Furlong explains in her introduction, was why they did it, for the shudder is salutary. And there was another reason: "some of us wanted to own the word 'feminine', to redeem it from any imputation of mindless frivolity, or need of special protection, and to claim it as the word that best described our particular strengths, wisdom and attitudes."

When Rome proclaimed the bodily Assumption of the Virgin into heaven as doctrine in 1950, and so admitted the feminine to a

distinction known hitherto officially to Jesus, Elijah and the prophet Enoch, the psychologist and philosopher Carl Jung called it "the most important religious event since the Reformation" and chastised the Protestant churches for failing to understand its significance.

Yet it is not only the Protestant churches which have failed to follow the symbolic logic of that Papal act. In 1974, at a time when perhaps the image of woman was in turmoil as seldom before, Pope Paul VI, in his Marialis Cultus (To Honour Mary) urged a renewal of her cult. Modern women would note that far from being timidly submissive or repellantly pious, she did not hesitate to proclaim God's vindication of the poor and oppressed — a woman of strength who herself had experienced poverty and suffering, flight and exile.

The unionists of Solidarity who went into battle at the start of the 80s under the banner and protection of the symbolic logic of that Papal act. In 1974, at a time when perhaps the image of woman was in turmoil as seldom before, Pope Paul VI, in his Marialis Cultus (To Honour Mary) urged a renewal of her cult. Modern women would note that far from being timidly submissive or repellantly pious, she did not hesitate to proclaim God's vindication of the poor and oppressed — a woman of strength who herself had experienced poverty and suffering, flight and exile.

Yet if for most the legacy of that ideal is the impossible split in the image of womanhood, then the images that might bear it are amassing in ever-greater piles these days in the feminist bookshops. For once upon a time, and very long ago indeed, there was nothing impossible at all in

the image of goddess as both virgin and Mother. Indeed, in those far off and mythic times, it was the most usual image of woman of them all, for then there were goddesses who rejoiced in their instincts, their sexuality, and their fecundity as well, and in nature itself as both light and dark, creative and destructive, as it is to this day. Virginity then was nothing to do with sexual chastity; it meant living in the truth of that nature and those instincts, and an image of woman as free from possession by any man, however often impregnated and child-bearing.

But when heaven has room for only sexual purity and obedience to the masculine and none of the rest, it is left to the daughters of the Christian era to make what they can of the split. And what that has meant, in these days, is an expression, in the eyes of men and of women too, of the dark side of what used to be revered as the power of the feminine in an attempt to balance that impossible light.

Somewhere near the beginning, and long before the first Eve who was the temptress and the downfall of us all, longer yet before the Second Eve who brought the promise of redemption as Mary, there was Lilith. She, so the legends have it, was Adam's first wife. And when she refused to be from his second was that she was born of the same substance as he and at the same time. No spare rib she: for in those distant days, there was absolute equality between man and woman, no equal were they, that Lilith would insist that she should not always take the inferior position during sexual congress.

But that was too much, it seems. So she was split off from Adam, cursed by God, and cast to the bottom of the Red Sea. From there she vented her rage on the other woman, that Eve, and on her off-

spring. She killed children, prevented birth through barrenness and miscarriages and complications of labour — and behaved indeed, as the very type of those who now cause Germaine Greer to cry her anger and her pain. Her subsequent fortunes and wanderings were many and complex. To those who recognised her she incarnated as the Queen of Sheba, the Ladder of Wisdom and the Queen of Heaven. To others, she was Harpy, Sphinx, flying demon, always lurking in many places that was dark and destructive in the feminine when its force is denied. She is witch, she is temptress, and you can tell her animal instinctuality because she is hairy of limb. Her image is with us yet.

Sometimes it has been a joke, when Veronica Lake made her 1942 film *I Am A Witch*, or Kiki Novak in 1958 starred in *Book of Beasts*. And these were comedies. But when Jean Seberg, herself something of an image of the new woman, made *Lilith* in 1964 and played the woman who was made bad and dangerous to men, or when Mary Anne Faithfull, the wickedest star of the 1960s, played *Lilith* in *Lucifer Rising* at the decade's end, the strength of the image began to emerge more clearly. In every one of these cinematic temptresses that have lured men to destruction and been destroyed themselves in the last reel (and look at the resurgence of Carmen among them in the past couple of years) there she is. And she has made her way into something like real life as well.

Interest in witchcraft — the old religion that accords power to the feminine as well as the masculine — is growing yet. At the end of the 1960s, when all still seemed possible, feminists took the image to themselves. An American collectivity called *Witch* proclaimed itself "the striking arm of the Women's Liberation Movement" and went about casting spells and making theatre and doing the make-up when they hiked their prices. "Witch lives and laughs in every woman," it declared. "She is the free part of us," beneath the smiles, the acquiescence to absurd male domination, the make-up and flesh-suffocating clothing our sick society demands. ... If you are a woman and dare to look within yourself, you are a Witch."

From the real fur on which the pin-ups of the 40s and 50s still posed and for which many others, still pined, to the fun fur of the 1960s, to the leather of the 1970s, the crop of clothing printed with animal markings: women have taken Lilith's hairiness to themselves and fashion has decreed that they should wear it more and more nearly as their own. "I could just as well wear a sleeveless dress any time" and know your underarms were "impeccable" asked Woman's Own sternly of its readers in 1980. A decade later, Faye Dunaway made publicity out of saying publicly that she didn't care how she looked and for many women in the past decade, the chucking out of razor and depilatory has become a symbol of their emerging selves. Heads which in the 1950s were tightly permed and neatly constrained and the lacquered hair have since shaken out into exaggerations of frizz, curl and length and finally been coloured and spiked into a post-punk energy as their hair has carried the symbol of the release and individual colouring of sexual energy.

So where now is that energy to find its feminine expression, and where is Lilith to be seen and the return of the Queen of Heaven? Once there was a feminine goddess who knew what that unity meant: "I am the first and the last," she said. "I am the honoured one and the scorned one. I am the whole and the holy one. I am the mother and the virgin. I am the mother and the daughter. I am the mother whose wedding is great and have not taken a husband. ... I am knowledge and I am ignorance. ... I am shameless; I am ashamed. I am strength and I am fear. ... I am foolish and I am wise. I am goddess and I am one whose God is great." Her name was *Thunder, Perfect Mind*. But these days she is only a fragment of agnostic gospel. And that fragment, of course, was most likely written by a man.

Vanity Fair

IF YOU drive up to the very top of Urbleton, past the High Street and the roundabout, the road turns into a bit of motorway, and along its edges are a number of shuttered houses, blighted by Department of Transport, the new-style Reeper who shall come to all boroughs.

Minister of Transport did have about 70 miles of London's roads to play with, but like Toad, intoxicated by the hum of the Motor Car, he wanted more, bigger and better, so he shall now take over 500 miles altogether for his very own, and may cover the town with a web of Motorways, blighting as he goes and starting with Urbleton.

To get things going, Minister only has to Publish Plans showing a Proposed Scheme. No Building Society will provide money for dwellings where Minister is planning something, so no one can buy any property and no one can sell it, except to Department who can then step in and buy it all up.

Then they can let it all run down, because luckily, unlike other landlords, Department has Crown Exemption from the Housing Act and is not responsible for repairs.

Residents will give up and move away, leaving Department with some transient dogs who won't care about Urbleton's future. And if any do stay and fight they'll be punished, because the longer they stay, the more rotten their homes will become. Blighted. Then when they've all gone, Department can build its brand new Motorway.

These are, of course, only the paranoid ravings of the powerless and motorless minority. It seems to them that Department can do as it likes because it has the Road Lobby to help it — all the haulage, car-making, petrol-selling and road-building people. But in fact there's no such thing.

"There's a lot of nonsense talked about the Road Lobby," said the Director of Urbleton Haulage. "Sometimes we get together and talk about a regular meeting, but it only appears to be a collective action. What a relief. One would hate to think that the greedy were ganging up and bossing Minister into spending a vast transport budget on road-building."

The Lady at DoT was very reassuring as well. Department only wants what the public wants, said she. Little breathless with enthusiasm. Urbleton isn't called Blighted, it's called a Study Area or Transport Study Area, nothing physical whatever happens to a road when you Trunk it. Trunking only means handing over to DoT.

It's me of Motorway of responsibility. It's nothing to do with widening and streamlining."

Department was most democratic, said the Transport son. It wasn't opposed to a ban on heavy lorries. The only reason it won't have one is because there hasn't been a Public Enquiry about it and when one's priority is to please the Public, Public Enquiries are a must.

In fact, Department is at this very moment begging Urbleton residents to ring its Consultants and make up their mind just what they feel the traffic problems are. Just as they asked residents' opinions all those years ago before they trunked (sorry, transferred) that bit of Motorway at the top of the High Street.

What objectors fail to realise is that Department is far sighted. It sees beyond merely local needs, even beyond Death. It recognises another of man's inner-needs, and leave his mark upon this world after he has gone forth from the house of flesh. And for some men, that mark has to be a big, long, straight one. Poop poop.

Michele Hanson



Surfeit of wisdom bad for the arts

In a way we blame the blessed Norman. It was Mr St John-Stevens, by his personal flamboyance and his willingness to combine a rather important job (Leader of the House) with a rather constrained one (Arts minister) who first really made the Arts Council and arts subsidies high profile news run by high profile people. Norman, because he was Norman, did a lot for the infrastructure of British culture. But it has been all downhill ever since he went.

Whitehall works in a rather simple way. Each year spending departments say what they would like to spend and the Treasury tells them what they can spend. Propositions and dispositions. Two elementary rules. But they get into a terrible tangle when the men who are asking for more money are also the policy gurus who think that everyone should be asking for less. Witness Sir Keith Joseph, student loans, and indeed the diminished state of the overall education budget. Classic departmental ministers — like Michael Heseltine or Norman Fowler — may or may not have sweeping philosophies about public expenditure. But when the MoD or the DHSS need more cash, they stow their collected works of Hayek on a bottom shelf. Sir Keith, by contrast, however innovative he may be within his allotted budget, is a wracked Samson struggling with a couple of over-weight pillars. On the one hand, he believes in more scientific research. On the other hand, he doesn't believe in finding more public money to pay for it.

But, you may begin to think, compared with the arts, education is a lucky department. The arts have a budget representing the small change of a couple of months in the Falklands and a Cabinet minister of their own (the legacy of Norman). But because, legacy or no legacy, the portfolio is relatively puny Lord Gowrie also looks after the Civil Service, the House of Lords and much thinking in cabinet. And the thoughts about the future of Britain that he is required to think make his tiny cultural bailiwick a test tube of Mrs Thatcher's brave new world.

That might just be supportable if it stopped there. But there is the Arts Council, and its high profile chairman Sir William Rees-Mogg. Sir William is giving a lecture tonight on "The political economy of art," copies of which have been printed in extenso over the last few days. It is billed as an answer to his critics, and there are enough rotund gibes at Melvyn Bragg and Sir Peter Hall to live up to that prospectus. But the core of the address is rather different. Sir William predicts that "the next wave of neo-Conservatives will set themselves a much lower target of public expenditure." He cites state spending levels in Japan — 34.5 per cent of GDP — as the benchmark to come. "I cannot myself see how this can fail to be the next great issue of British politics." We are spared a precise diagnosis of the impact on the Riverside Studios of a return to the gold standard, but otherwise the message is clear enough. Because the prophet Mogg sees neo-Tory wrath to come, he wants to prepare the arts for that future now.

But what on earth has it got to do with running the Arts Council 1985? How on earth does it relate to making the case for the arts to government, or explaining the Government's case to the arts? Sir Peter Hall has a simple argument. He wants enough money to run the National Theatre. Mr Nigel Lawson has a simple problem. He is strapped for cash. But a system infected at every intermediary stage by philosopher kings is a system sliding, amid much ado, into adjectival anarchy. Why, when good, grey departmental ministers indent every week for good grey spending projects quite beyond anything we are talking of here, should the arts be saddled with a dozen competing Delphic oracles. The future of the National Theatre is not the future of Britain. The future of Japan's GDP is not the touchstone for Liverpool Playhouse's autumn season. Forget the Glory of the Garden. How about a spot of silence in the potting shed?

Death and the airline pilot

What can explain the resonance of the case of Captain Peter Hogg, the airline pilot who killed his wife and then dumped her body in England's deepest lake where it lay undiscovered for seven years? At one level it is the element of life imitating art, enhanced by the case's Chanderlian "Lady in the Lake" tag.

But the case is more than mere entertainment. It touches some dark aspects of contemporary Britain. Part of this is to do with the sentence of three years' imprisonment for manslaughter. For the inoffensive Mr Peter Bruinvels, MP, it is further proof that sentences for killing are too soft. In fact, Captain Hogg seems to have received almost a textbook term for manslaughter by reason of provocation. Three years is at the lower end of the usual tariff, but it is not a freak. What the sentence does illustrate is that homicide law which decrees that murder shall carry a mandatory life term will inevitably encourage a rather rough and ready set of sentencing principles for manslaughter. Some of these difficulties would be avoided if murder did not carry a mandatory penalty. But no Tory conference would wear such a reform, so no Tory Home Secretary is going to propose it.

In addition, the whole trial has provided further illustration of the male bias in the groundrules and assumptions pervading criminal cases where sex and domestic violence are central issues. Captain Hogg's defence, which was by no means an unusual one, was that his wife had been unfaithful to him. Her sexual behaviour was put forward as the provocation for his killing her. The court clearly accepted this argument, even if it did not condone it outright. Subsequent media coverage has also preferred to blacken Mrs Hogg, who is the victim, rather than her husband, who is the killer. Thus the balance of sympathy is directed towards the man. The judge, who like all Old Bailey judges, is also a man, accepted that Captain Hogg's behaviour exceeded what is conventionally regarded as good fatherhood. And much of the coverage of the case has similarly lacked a sense of outrage.

Forty years ago, in an essay entitled *Decline of the English Murder*, George Orwell defined the ingredients of the homicides the English like to read about. The typical killing is domestic, Orwell suggested. Sex and the need for social respectability will be powerful themes in the drama. The killer will be a man from the professional classes. He will be a pillar of local petit bourgeois respectability and he will display the utmost cunning in his deed. He will only be caught out by some unforeseeable detail. The case will excite pity for both the victim and the killer. Orwell thought that such cases now belonged to a lost, hypocritical pre-war past (he was writing in 1946). Perhaps Orwell was premature. Might not the wife-killing by a suburban airline pilot tell us more about the moral framework of contemporary England than we care to acknowledge?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Beg your pardon, Mr Kinnock

Sir—Mr Kinnock has missed the point about amnesty.

He endorses the Government/NCB policy of not reinstating miners convicted of serious or violent crimes. In so doing he accepts uncritically the verdicts arrived at by the police and the courts. His endorsement of the authority of the criminal justice system neglects the whole area of political problems opened up by the policing of the strike.

There is a large body of evidence demonstrating the explicit partiality of the police and the courts against picketing and in favour of non-striking miners. The "criminalisation" of picketing, the association of mass picketing itself with intimidation, the civil law restrictions imposed upon the rights to strike and to picket; the Government's repeated denunciation of the strikers as "the enemy within"; the bypassing of local channels of democratic police accountability; the institution of close links between the Home Office, the police and the courts; the expansion of the National Reporting Centre; the expanded interpretations of "reasonable force" by the police and of "violence" by the courts; the Government's absolute public defence of the police and judiciary: all point to the problematic character of the present system of criminal and civil justice.

In this context, Mr Kinnock's latest blunder lies not just in his attempt to sit on the fence once again, but in his inability to focus on the democratic issues raised by the policing of the strike. It is a mark of his lack of political nose that he now treats the word of the police and courts as final on who is fit and who is not fit to be hired by the Coal Board.

Another opportunity to rouse popular support behind democratic reforms of the criminal justice system is being lost, away by Labour's leader.

Bob Fine,
Department of Sociology,
University of Warwick.

Sir—There is a curious double standard shown by those who call for a total amnesty for all strikers—what after all is a little GMB malicious damage while at the same time applauding the vicious campaign of hatred and persecution which is to be visited in perpetuity on so-called scabs, their wives, and children.

Clearly the psychological make-up of socialists, with or without the "national" prefix, demands that some group—Jews or Whites—will be the target of pathological vindictiveness. Yours faithfully,
D. J. Aldat,
22 Plantation Close,
Nottinghamshire.

Sir—May I put forward the view that in the event of serious consideration being given to reprising the coal-mining industry, it should be remembered that the coal itself, under our legal system, is the property

enjoyed by their respective women, but from their voting systems.

Not only in enlightened Scandinavian countries, but also in less feminist Italy and Switzerland, which latter only gave the vote to women in 1971, there are more women MPs than at Westminster. A number of these have constitutional systems of voting, while we have "first-past-the-post." It is however many candidates, only one may be elected.

With only one exception each way, each democracy with a proportional representation system has more women in its parliament than each country with a system like ours. This is because a party which is reluctant to select a woman as its only candidate, will readily select her as one of a team in a constituency with more than one candidate—I am, yours, etc.,
Laura Grimmond,
(President, Women's Liberal Federation),
London W4.

Sir—As an MP's permanent employee, I object strongly to the proposal that we should be vetted. There are plenty of rules already that limit our access to and mobility within the Palace of Westminster; some of these rules hamper our work, and we are used to hearing the word "security" when we question them.

In my experience MPs are careful about whom they employ as permanent staff, and the final decision on whom they wish to work with should rest with them. Yours faithfully,
Nora Macleod,
Lindfield, Sussex.

of the Crown—as indeed is the whole of the land over which the Queen's writ runs.

The coal was deposited where it now lies thousands of millions of years before man made his relatively recent appearance on earth. Coal cannot belong to any individual landholder.

Mining buildings, machinery and equipment, however, are man-made artefacts which have cost capital to manufacture and have owners.

If the right to mine the nation's coal in a specified area is to be franchised to a particular company or individual, it must be on the basis that the man-made assets are sold to them for cash, and the Government receives on behalf of the British people a substantial royalty on the proceeds of sale of the coal extracted, which should be treated as a recent account of capital in the Government's accounts. Yours faithfully,
Oliver Smedley,
Duck Street,
Wendens Ambo, Essex.

Sir—David Hearst (Guardian, March 5) is quite wrong to suggest that the future of men at Kellingley Colliery is by no means certain "because of a comparison of productivity with the new Selby mines. By this criterion, every miner's future apart from the few at Selby—would be uncertain."

Other new mines and our much modernised older mines will, with varying degrees of success, aim to

match the sort of productivity achievable at Selby—we would not expect most of our mines to get there, but that will not put them at risk while they are efficient within their own limitations of age, reserves, and equipment.

Nor is it true that Selby will soon produce more coal than all the other coalfields combined. The planned output for Selby on completion at the end of the decade is 10 million tonnes a year, with the possibility of increasing that target by one or two million tonnes. We see that as representing something like 10 per cent of the output of a successful, expanding British coal industry.

Stillington Mine, which Sir Hearst credits with outstripping Kellingley's output, has not yet opened its first coalface and has only limited production from tunnelling operations. The only Selby mine to come into partial production is Wistow, which is still some way from reaching its own target output of two million tonnes a year.

Selby is without doubt going to be the jewel in the Yorkshire coalfield's crown. But we have many other mines which, with a continuing proper investment, will be providing secure employment and playing a major part in building an efficient, low-cost coal industry for many years ahead. Yours faithfully,
Fred Sanderson,
National Coal Board,
Doncaster, S Yorkshire.

the House of Lords, as merely a revising chamber for legislation passed by the Commons. The constitutional position is that the Lords and the Commons have virtually the same powers, with some exceptions: for example, the Commons have been accepted as a court of appeal, and the Lords may not impede the progress of a "money bill" (one that deals with taxation).

In practice the Lords has an in-built Tory majority so that, to enable Labour governments to function, the fiction has been accepted that the Lords will not emasculate legislation passed by the Commons. In fact the Lords will not upset the actions of a Labour government as long as those actions do not upset the power and wealth of the people who sustain the Tory Party.

However, the next Labour government will have to take radical action to sort out the mess being created by the present Tory Government. This will involve taking power and wealth from the backers of the Tories, and they will object. No "gentlemen's agreement" will survive the action that is necessary. Yours sincerely,
Lord Monkswell,
House of Lords.

It is true that I do not see

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merely a revising chamber for legislation passed by the Commons. The constitutional position is that the Lords and the Commons have virtually the same powers, with some exceptions: for example, the Commons have been accepted as a court of appeal, and the Lords may not impede the progress of a "money bill" (one that deals with taxation).

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merely a revising chamber for legislation passed by the Commons. The constitutional position is that the Lords and the Commons have virtually the same powers, with some exceptions: for example, the Commons have been accepted as a court of appeal, and the Lords may not impede the progress of a "money bill" (one that deals with taxation).

In practice the Lords has an in-built Tory majority so that, to enable Labour governments to function, the fiction has been accepted that the Lords will not emasculate legislation passed by the Commons. In fact the Lords will not upset the actions of a Labour government as long as those actions do not upset the power and wealth of the people who sustain the Tory Party.

However, the next Labour government will have to take radical action to sort out the mess being created by the present Tory Government. This will involve taking power and wealth from the backers of the Tories, and they will object. No "gentlemen's agreement" will survive the action that is necessary. Yours sincerely,
Lord Monkswell,
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Not so much a bomb Schell more a myth explosion

Sir—To those who, have read The Abolition (sic) by Jonathan Schell, his support of the Strategic Defence Initiative (Guardian, March 7) will come as no surprise. Such defensive, non-nuclear weapons form an essential part of his proposal for the total abolition of nuclear weaponry, by negotiation.

Because of continuing distrust and the limits of any surveillance systems, there might remain, after the removal of all detectable nuclear weapons, the chance that a few could be concealed or rebuilt.

The existence of large, non-nuclear defensive capacities would ensure that such limited concealed weapons could not be decisive, and thus there would be little temptation to use them. Schell also proposes the retention of the capacity rapidly to rebuild nuclear weapons, as a form of massive delayed deterrence.

Such a world would be a good deal safer than if our present \$6,000,000,000 weapons were "frozen" into place, leaving some other idea or building of trust, before they could be cut back to a less absurd number. An accident or miscalculation may well occur, but the idea of all possible situations being the one so clearly described by E.P. Thompson (Guardian, February 18) where strategic defences are used solely to protect nuclear weapons, thereby forcing each side to expand its nuclear arsenal, it remains to be seen who Reagan, Weinberger, or

Pearle have in mind for us—and I am inclined to feel the worst. But in the meantime politicians and negotiators of all nuclear countries should be persuaded to read and consider Schell's proposal. Yours sincerely,
Roger Franklin,
Ticknond House,
Horsley, Gloucestershire.

Sir—Alex Brummer's report on Jonathan Schell's support for the concept of strategic defence, or star wars as it is better known, rather overstated Schell's role within the American freeze movement.

If Schell is the "intellectual powerhouse" behind the freeze, can one make of such figures as Senator Mark Hatfield or Randall Forsberg? I heard much about them at the US freeze conference last December.

Sir—In your Leader of March 5 you describe Lord Edgley's inquiry into the state of surveillance guidelines as an "onanistic quibble." Do you mean the inquiry is a piece of expediency, comparable to the performance by Onan, son of Judah, on his brother's widow (Genesis 38), or a process causing those involved to go blind?

In the past we have looked to your leaders for examples of wisdom and decent English. Yours faithfully,
Colin George,
Wickham,
Hampshire.

A COUNTRY DIARY

KESWICK: Two swallows may, or may not make a summer; but what makes a spring? The last Sunday in February was, spring-like, fetching out an ice-cream van—doing good business—and skin divers to the shore of Derwentwater. One elderly lady, having sunk to a viewpoint seat, announced: "There now, I've lived in Keswick 27 years and this is the first time I've got to Friar's Crag." The last day of the month was warm and sunny, too, with scores of honey bees on the flowering heaths and the widely open fields. The small violet crocuses, March 1 put every thing back in place in a bitter wind and, by evening, a new dusting of snow on the fells but all the quivers of the weather had half the quiet advance of spring. There is a half-forgotten—

but nothing about Schell. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that Schell's book, *The Fate of the Earth*, was a major publicity factor in launching the freeze. The lesson to be learned is that the idea of star wars is becoming acceptable. Mrs Thatcher has been converted, at least in public, and it is surprising just how many "people in the street" also accept the idea without further thought.

The main argument against star wars, apart from the obvious ones of unnecessary cost and technical feasibility, is that when such a system is coupled with clear weapons, one side will perceive that the other is developing a first-strike system. Even without fast and accurate weapons, a strategy for nuclear blackmail would be no less effective, rather than real, intentions that matter.

Star wars will lead to anti-ballistic and anti-satellite systems being deployed by both sides. In addition, there will be a drive for more sophisticated offensive weapons, and a computerisation of response to perceived attack.

We are now entering a new phase of the nuclear arms race. Rather than being obsolete, the idea of a nuclear freeze is now urgent and indispensable. Imagine the difference that steps like a worldwide freeze on star wars and on nuclear testing would have on the new talks between the US and USSR.

Without such steps, it is hard to have much hope for the fate of the earth.—Yours faithfully,
(Dr) Will Howard,
British Nuclear Weapons
FREEZE,
Bristol.

Seed of doubt

Sir—In your Leader of March 5 you describe Lord Edgley's inquiry into the state of surveillance guidelines as an "onanistic quibble." Do you mean the inquiry is a piece of expediency, comparable to the performance by Onan, son of Judah, on his brother's widow (Genesis 38), or a process causing those involved to go blind?

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Some Prior thoughts that 'Chairman' Tebbit will be raising



Hugo Young

MR NORMAN TEBBIT can hardly wait to become chairman of the Conservative Party. It is a job which seems perfectly suited to his special talents. Of all parties the Tories, as befits one of the most professional political organisations in the free world, are thinking earlier than anyone about the next election. None has a clearer view of the matter than Mr Tebbit. If the call should come, as most people expect, he will be ready.

Mr Tebbit is not what you would call a political philosopher. There are times when he makes Mrs Thatcher sound like a Disraeli among savants. By comparison with him, Mr Heseltine looks rather like Thomas Jefferson, and Mr Walker could even be Aristotle. When it comes to ideas, Mr Tebbit has an exceedingly simple view of the world: that once every trace of the cancer of socialism has been eradicated, government will just about have completed its task.

The British Government still has a long way to go in that direction, and the great strength Mr Tebbit brings is

unswerving belief with total immersion in the politics of winning. Reports of his new-found moderation are as exaggerated as those of his complete recovery from the Brighton bomb—although he looks as though, rather painfully, he is getting there. The last word would be on any suggestion that his horrific experience last October has induced in him any distracting interest in the higher things of life. For Mr Tebbit there is no higher thing than Thatcher's Fourth Term.

Thus as party chairman, he would become Mrs Thatcher's partner-in-hatness: the first person she has put in the job for 10 years who was not too old, too young, too apocryphal; certainly the first with any kind of charisma in Conservative circles, to match her own. And he would have a plan.

This would be, in essence, to devote maximum Conservative attention to destroying the political base of the Liberal-SDP Alliance. Gone would be the earlier strategy of lofty indifference, and the concentration of the Labour Party. For a man like Mr Tebbit, the Alliance presents a salivating opportunity.

In particular, the determination of Dr David Owen to the rate-capping confrontation brings out the fighting Thatcher—as she reminded us yet again on Saturday with images of victorious combat which would turn town halls into arenas worthy of the pen of A. J. Liebling, or some other journalistic master of the heavyweight ring. By 1987 this era will have passed. The miners' strike, epic though it was, will be of

seats? And what about your friend David Steel? Is he going to pretend to be a better man in some circumstances?

No man in England has a greater command of finely calculated—and it always is finely calculated—political decision. Norman works very hard on the big speeches, and as chairman he could make them a full-time job. What Conservative could fail to be delighted at the prospect of a man of his weight coming into his own?

THE ANSWER is, very many: for Mr Tebbit's appointment would be a signal, there are some who talk about the job as if it were indoor relief for a man who needs to get rid of his intolerable departmental schedule. This is a generous but mistaken reading. Chairman Tebbit, beside Prime Minister Thatcher would send out a message which would terrify a significant number of Conservatives. They would not think it speaks to the condition in which they expect to find themselves in 1987.

That condition is now masked. One of the great oddities of current politics is that the two major everyday battles during the last year, and next, will have almost nothing to do with the next election. The miners' strike and the rate-capping confrontation bring out the fighting Thatcher—as she reminded us yet again on Saturday with images of victorious combat which would turn town halls into arenas worthy of the pen of A. J. Liebling, or some other journalistic master of the heavyweight ring. By 1987 this era will have passed. The miners' strike, epic though it was, will be of

marginal electoral importance. It was essential for the Government not to be beaten. The outcome will have depressing effects for trade union power generally. There is quite a lot for the Government to crow about. But it is essential to have a triumph. There is little to show for victory in the way of jobs, or prosperity, or anything else that makes people feel good about government. There is a heavy price of bad side-effects: some brutal police behaviour; a sunken pound, vast economic loss; an impression that the Government, for so long, was not fully in charge of the country.

But the particular deception brought about by the miners' strike concerns the Conservative Party. It was an issue on which the party was entirely united. It therefore had the welcome tendency to bury issues on which the party is not united—in particular, economic policy. With a few eccentric exceptions, the strike gave the Chancellor a year of relative immunity from internal attack. But the election, coal will not be the issue.

All the struggles with local authorities are of equally peripheral significance. They will continue, to the point of utter tedium, to dominate the lives of many ministers, the Prime Minister's not least. And while here the Tory Party has not been so united as over the miners, such triumphs as it has will be completely uninspiring. How many votes are there in a capped rate or an abolished metropolitan county—especially when for most citizens the rates go up anyway?

Seen by the average Tory

MP, therefore, Conservatism in its fighting mode has a limited life span. The battle may have been unavoidable, but they are not the whole of politics. The victories are only a means to an end. The heads of Arthur Scargill and Ken Livingstone may be speared on the railings of Westminster, but what MPs think they need, to keep their seats, are some results: in particular, a four-year economic recovery which is made manifest in a few corners of the kingdom beyond the statistical tables of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The other thing they could do with is some variation of tone: some embellishment, some deepening, even some positive alteration of the voice in which Conservative politics has been proclaimed for the past six years. One of the first people to think about this was the owner of that voice, Mrs Thatcher herself. At the beginning of her second term, she worried that the public might get bored with her and she vowed—or so I was told by one of her intimates—to work on the problem.

But prime ministers don't have much time to act out such thoughts, and no politician in their late 50s can expect to change personality. Mrs Thatcher shows no sign of having even tried. And so she is paying a price. Her personal rating in the opinion polls is dropping quite fast. Scargill, alas, turns out not to be another Galtieri. The people continue to see their leader as being woefully out of touch with their own lives.

THE ELEVATION of Mr Tebbit, in these circumstances, is the opposite of what a conventional political leader would propose. He is an alter-Thatcher, he adds limited life span. The battle may have been unavoidable, but they are not the whole of politics. The victories are only a means to an end. The heads of Arthur Scargill and Ken Livingstone may be speared on the railings of Westminster, but what MPs think they need, to keep their seats, are some results: in particular, a four-year economic recovery which is made manifest in a few corners of the kingdom beyond the statistical tables of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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appetite is limited, and the surveyor himself finds that there is a distinct element of self-selection in the audience: 600 among those who did tune in, twice as many were predisposed to unilateral disarmament as among the population at large. Even so, that leaves the majority of viewers as having come to the programmes favouring multilateral or deterrence policies, and the largest changes in opinion revealed—among the 100 who said their views did change—were an increased worry about a nuclear war involving Britain, and increased support for unilateral disarmament.

And yet, in spite of all this emphasis on the nuclear deterrent thesis and other long-term issues, most viewers afterwards still saw radiation as the main risk from nuclear explosion, and there were signs that, among the victims of before-and-after Threads, polling worries and interest increased (roughly rather less) among those who didn't watch the programmes at all. Were the dangers enough?



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Are you a recent graduate, aged 21-24, with energy and determination to succeed in a sales career? Are you confident and capable enough to sell to companies and their advertising agencies?

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If you think you've got what it takes to succeed contact Lesley Finn on 01-631 1006 (res. cons.).

Price-Jameson
& Partners

PUBLISHING PRODUCTION

We need someone with at least two years experience of print production, possibly with magazines, to assume day-to-day control of our small but busy book production office. In return for accuracy, flexibility and enthusiasm, we can offer a wide range of experience and responsibility and a congenial working environment. Write with c.v. to: Mark Hammer, SCM Press Ltd, 26-30 Tottenham Road, London N1 4BE.

COMMUNICATIONS CENTRE

DEPUTY MANAGER

The Yorkshire Arts Communications Centre is moving to Leeds and requires a part-time worker to develop its film and video resources and establish its training programme. Initially 1 day per week, salary of £4,514 (rising to £5,414 by April 1986).

Closing date 22nd March.

Further details and application forms from the Director, Yorkshire Arts Association, Glyde House, Glydegate, Bradford BD5 9DQ.

Yorkshire Arts

PR CONSULTANCY

ACCOUNT EXECUTIVE

familiar with London's Jewish community, with proven writing and communication skills.

Contact Walter Nelson on 01-727 8494

GRADUATES!

LOOKING FOR YOUR FIRST JOB?

A lot of immediate vacancies plus advice and information on job hunting via need Graduate Post every fortnight - the only newspaper specifically for you.

3 or a year's subscription (24 issues) at send a cheque for £12.00 or for 6 months (12 issues) £7.00, or write for subscription form and sample back issue to:

The New Opportunity Press Ltd, Dept. G, 75 St. James' Lane, London W10 6SD.
Telephone: 01-444 7261.
Cheques payable to The New Opportunity Press Ltd.

TELEPHONE SALES PEOPLE

Charity publications department of a publishing company (London EC7) near St. Pauls (Barbican Station) requires

Promotions, Publicity & PR

To create the right impressions throughout the North West

This is an excellent career development move for an ambitious young marketer with a head of promotions advertising and sales support experience.

The biggest and most successful regional building society in the North West with 54 branches, we have achieved dramatic growth and success through a commitment to increased market share, innovative and aggressive marketing strategies, have combined with our traditions and reputation for customer service in this highly competitive environment.

This is your chance to join a small but highly professional marketing team at our Head Office in Macclesfield, Cheshire and to gain wide ranging experience in all aspects of our marketing and promotional activities.

Reporting to the Marketing Controller, your involvement will cover organising branch promotions and other events, branch office displays, the preparation of publicity material, literature, and the co-ordination and control of advertising. You will also be expected to make a major contribution to the continuing development of good press relations and controlling the flow of press releases, all geared to promoting awareness of our name amongst potential customers.

To meet our brief you must be able to demonstrate a successful career to date including directly relevant experience and a bright, friendly, outgoing personality.

The starting salary will be negotiable between £5,765 and £7,065 (subject to review) and the excellent benefits package will include a company car, HMO and a generous mortgage terms. Relocation assistance could be considered if appropriate.

Please send full c.v. or write for an application form to: Personnel Manager, Cheshire Building Society, Castle Street, Macclesfield, Cheshire, SK11 6AH, marked "Staff Confidential".

Cheshire

BUILDING SOCIETY

DESIGNER

Longman Group, leading educational publishers, are looking for a Designer to join the Division publishing material for the African and Caribbean market.

The Designer will see projects through from the initiation of ideas to the end product, and will be responsible both for covers and the internal design of books. Organisational ability and a flair for typography are essential.

Applicants should have a recognised qualification in Graphic Design and ideally have had book design experience.

Please write, quoting Ref: L111, giving details of qualifications, experience and current salary if applicable, or telephone for an application form to:

Fiona Baker, Personnel Executive,
Longman Group Limited, Longman House, Buret Mill,
Harlow, Essex CM20 2JE. Tel: Harlow (0278) 26721.

Longman

Graduates

A Career in Publishing?

Transworld Press, a division of Transworld Press International, the largest specialist publisher in the world, are currently looking for young graduates who wish to make a career in publishing.

Based at our modern offices in Sutton you will initially be trained as a telephone sales representative for the classified advertising on one of our leading journals. For those who show the ability and determination to succeed in the highly competitive world of advertising sales, full training and guidance will be given to direct their career towards management and executive levels. Starting salaries are £7,500 per annum plus bonus paid on performance.

5 weeks holiday per year and subsidised restaurant facilities. If you would like to know more about this exciting career opportunity, please contact:

Manager, Graduate, Student, Office, Business Press International Ltd, Quaker House, The Quadrant, Sutton, Surrey SM2 5AS. Telephone: 01-893 3485.

Transworld Press International is an Equal Opportunity Employer.

BUSINESS PRESS INTERNATIONAL

ACCOUNT EXECUTIVE

required for an expanding North London-based Direct Mail Company to work on interesting and varied Direct Mail Projects. He/she should have had some Direct Mail/Direct Marketing experience; initiative; aptitude for hard work and the ability to communicate with people at all levels are most important.

Excellent salary, profit share and career prospects offered to the successful applicant, who is unlikely to be aged under 21 years.

Please write enclosing c.v. to: Curzon Marketing Limited, 20-24 Lonsdale Road, London NW6 6RD. Attention Ann Boundford.

The Economist

DIRECT MARKETING EXECUTIVE

We are looking for an enthusiastic, energetic direct marketing executive to take charge of planning and implementing direct mail and direct response campaigns for The Economist Newspaper. Reporting to the Marketing Manager, the successful applicant will be directly involved with creative services (internal and external), in-house, brokers, mailing houses and with various departmental managers. Applicants should have at least 2 years' direct marketing experience, preferably in publishing, and combine organisational ability with creative flair. Salary commensurate with previous experience. Please write with full c.v., including details of current salary, to:

Sarah Foley,
Marketing Department,
The Economist Newspaper
Limited, 25 St. James's Street,
London SW1A 1EG.

SALES PROFESSIONAL

Expanding Marketing Services Company requires enthusiastic sales people to sell video advertising and direct marketing services at top management/director level. Good telephone manner essential. Contact Julian Taylor on 01-529 8895.

DESIGNER

The Central Office of Information invites applications for the post of Designer (graded Information Officer) in our Home Publications Group, Home Publications, located at Hercules Road, London SE1.

The vacancy is for a Designer who will join a small multi-discipline team — headed by a Principal Information Officer — which is responsible for producing printed publicity for a group of Government departments.

The successful candidate will be required to undertake a wide range of graphic and typographical design assignments, working in close collaboration with editorial and production colleagues on printed material that effectively meets clients' needs.

Under the supervision of a Senior Information Officer there will be opportunities for briefing for freelance design and artwork commissions, and for exercising some job management skills by ensuring that projects are completed on schedule and within estimated costs.

Applicants must be qualified Graphic Designers with practical experience of designing, producing visuals and supervising finished artwork for books, pamphlets, posters and logos for a wide range of audiences.

The post calls for awareness of and accountability for costs of resources used in the work and a commitment to the visibility of the team.

The starting salary will be within the range of £9,793-£12,029 (depending on experience and qualifications). There is a non-contributory pension scheme and the post carries 22 days annual leave plus 10½ days public and privilege holidays. Please send a postcard for an application form to the Central Office of Information, Room 15B, Atlantic House, Holborn Viaduct, London EC1 2PD, quoting competition number 224/NC85. The closing date for returned forms is 4 April 1985.

The Civil Service is an Equal Opportunities Employer.

URBAN AID PROGRAMME COMMUNITY DESIGN FOR GWENT

(A free design service for community organisations)

PROJECT COORDINATOR

Applicants should preferably have qualifications up to degree standard and should have experience in administration and management. Salary circa £8,000 p.a.

GRAPHICS PROJECT WORKER

Applicants should preferably have qualifications up to degree standard and experience in all aspects of graphic design. Salary circa £8,500 p.a.

Further information and application forms by writing and enclosing a SAE to: Newport Resource Centre, 35 Commercial Road, Newport, Gwent, NP23 2PB.

Closing date: 22nd March, 1985.

Judy Farquharson Limited

47 New Bond Street, London W1Y 9HA. 01-493 8824

COPYWRITER

A new appointment within the Marketing Service Department of a professional organisation. He/she will report to the PR Manager working on both internal and external communications, writing articles, news letters, brochures and editing technical publications. Candidates will be graduates, 2-4 years relevant experience preferably in the commercial world, and good writing skills. Age to 30. Salary to £12,000.

PUBLICITY EXECUTIVE

For retail operation in London area, PR and Marketing experience, together with the energy and ideas to develop a career with this young company. Age c. mid 20s. Salary to £10,000 + car.

SALES EXECUTIVES

Two positive personalities needed to train in sales. Must be young articulate graduates with ideas and initiative. Based in North London. Salary £6,500 + car.

MARKETING ASSISTANT PUBLISHING

Financial Times Business Information is looking for a Marketing Assistant to join a team working on the promotion of various periodicals. The work involves planning, implementation and control of direct mail marketing, and other promotional campaigns as well as contributing to marketing plans. Ideally applicants should have at least two years' experience in marketing, preferably in a magazine or newspaper environment, although this is not essential. A good educational background is required together with a proactive and a methodical analytical mind. A salary in the region of £9,000 to £9,500 p.a. will be offered together with five weeks' holiday. If you are interested in applying for this position, please write with full c.v. to:

Jennifer Leaver
Personnel Manager
Financial Times Business Information
Graystone Place
Foster Lane
London EC4 1ND

SOUNDS needs an Editor

Please apply in writing with full c.v. to:
Eric Fuller, SOUNDS
40 Long Acre, London WC2

The Company is an equal opportunities employer. Employment offers are subject to an approved interview by the Company and the D.C.S.

COVENT GARDEN

Millbank Publications require intelligent, enthusiastic people to sell advertising space in internationally distributed year books. Salary plus commission means over £15K p.a. realistic earnings.

Excellent promotion prospects. 20+ and eager to succeed?

Phone today,
Clive Beer on
01-379 3036.

MILLBANK PUBLICATIONS

EDITOR AND DESIGNER

We are looking for two energetic young people to join our team producing illustrated books for children and adults. You must have a minimum of one year's experience in a publishing house or ad. agency, and be prepared to learn. We offer a superb working environment and a good salary.

Write with full details to: The Managing Director, Temple Publishing Co. Ltd., Old Kings Head Court, 17 High Street, Dorling, Surrey, RH4 1AR. Tel: (0309) 881801.

A DAY LATER, THEATRE COMPANY
Dorling House, Dorling, Surrey, RH4 1AR

0532 792228

ARTISTIC DIRECTOR

A socialist feminist collective touring nationally with a strong element of music.

Written applications to be sent with a CV.

Closing date 5th April.

FREELANCE FEATURE WRITERS WANTED

Freelance Feature Writers wanted for new regional Women's monthly magazine. Commissioned and spec. stories required. Send samples to: Heather Foot, Southern Publicity, 12 High Street, Fareham, Hants. PO15 7AF.

Printed Books and Manuscripts

Assistant Archivist

to help with the day-to-day running of the Manuscripts section. Work includes the arrangement, listing and indexing of collections, the acquisition of manuscripts and related business dealing with correspondence on inquiries and assisting members of the public in the library.

Candidates must have a good honours degree preferably in history. They should normally have a relevant qualification and/or experience in archives administration with career intentions in this field. Interests in relevant computer applications and in conservation of manuscripts advantageous.

Salary as Curator Grade E £8,795 £11,455 or as Curator Grade F £6,745 - £9,220 Level of appointment and starting salary according to qualifications and experience.

For further details and an application form (to be returned by 18 April 1985) write to Civil Service Commission, Alencon Link, Basingstoke Hants RG21 1LB or telephone Basingstoke (0256) 468551 (answering service operates outside office hours). Please quote ref: G(8)382.

National Maritime Museum

An equal opportunity employer

Scientific Writer

(2 year fixed-term appointment)

The Daresbury Laboratory, an establishment of the Science and Engineering Research Council, situated in rural Cheshire, provides major facilities for scientific research undertaken by university research workers for most parts of the country and abroad. The present facilities are centred on a 2 GeV Synchrotron Radiation Source and a 20 MV Van de Graaff accelerator.

The Laboratory needs a Scientific Writer for a fixed term of two years to assist with the Laboratory's programme in a wide range of publishing and preparation of exhibition and public relations material. This is a first class opportunity to interact with research scientists who are working in the forefront of science.

We are seeking an honours graduate with at least 2 years post-graduate experience including editorial skills and techniques. The degree (or equivalent qualifications) should be in a scientific subject, or in engineering, maths or computational science. He/she should have a good command of English, an ability for creative writing and an imaginative approach to communicating the scientific programmes to a wide range of audiences.

The appointment will be made in the grade of Higher Scientific Officer on a salary scale £7,435 - £10,035 per annum. There is a non-contributory superannuation scheme, generous leave allowance and a flexible working hours scheme.

CLOSING DATE: 4th April, 1985.

Further information may be obtained from Mrs S. A. Lowndes, Warrington (0595) 65000, Ext. 305.

Applicant forms may be obtained from and should be returned, quoting reference number DL/908 to: The Personnel Officer, Daresbury Laboratory, SERC, Daresbury, Warrington, Cheshire WA4 4AD.

PRODUCTION MANAGER

required

for major classical music publishers in central London.

Qualities required: good knowledge of print-buying and of printing/graphic design, organisational skills and ability to work to strict deadlines.

Salary and further details on application from:

EW156, The Guardian,
164 Deansgate,
Manchester, M60 2RR.

THE CITY UNIVERSITY

Audio-Visual Technician (Servicing)

Applications are invited for the post of Audio-Visual Technician (Servicing). Applicants should be suitably qualified with experience in servicing audio-visual equipment.

Salary will be within the range £3,840 to £3,274 per annum, depending on age and experience.

For further details and an application form, please write to Ms Jane Cameron, Personnel Recruitment Assistant, The City University, Northampton Square, London EC1V 0HB, or telephone 01-250 1107 (24-hour answering). Closing date March 25, 1985.

This is a re-advertisement, previous applicants need not re-apply.

SUB-EDITOR

THE CREATIVE COOK

We need a cookery sub-editor for this successful fortnightly. You must have sound subbing experience and be able to work speedily under pressure. Interest in Oriental cookery valuable.

Salary negotiable, five weeks holiday profit-sharing scheme. Please reply in writing with c.v. to Arlene Sobel, Eaglemoss Publications, 7 Cromwell Road, London SW7 2PL.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CARDIFF

CENTRE FOR JOURNALISM STUDIES

LECTURER IN PERIODICALS JOURNALISM

Applications are invited for the above post. Salary range £7,520-£14,925 per annum. Duties to commence October 1st, 1985.

Applications, three copies, together with the names and addresses of two referees, should be forwarded to the Vice-Principal (Administration) & Registrar, University College, PO Box 75, Cardiff CF1 1XL, from whom further particulars will be available. Closing date March 31st, 1985. Ref 2919.

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CMS CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

have a vacancy for an ASSISTANT FOR JUNIOR EDUCATION

to work in the Education Department as part of a team which provides materials for use in Britain to promote partnership in mission and to draw upon the world-wide concerns and resources of the Society.

This new post is to help develop the junior education dimension of the Department's task through research, writing for current publications, keeping abreast of current trends and maintaining contacts within and beyond CMS.

The successful applicant will need writing skills, experience of work with children and young people, global awareness, imagination, initiative and an ability to type. Knowledge of formal education an asset.

Starting salary: £6,572 on scale to £7,716 p.a. plus London Allowance £276 p.a.

Subsidised canteen, 6 minutes from Waterloo Station, CMS Pension Scheme, season ticket loan scheme.

Job Description from Judith Thomas, Assistant Personnel Officer, CMS, 157 Waterloo Road, London SE1 8JU. Tel 01-428 8601.

Closing date for completed applications, Friday, March 22, 1985.

PROMOTIONS DEVELOPMENT OFFICER

The British Development Council is a long established Trade Association for the promotion of British goods and services abroad.

We are currently seeking to expand our present Development Officer posts and to recruit a Promotion Development Officer. Currently the post is based in London, but the successful candidate will be required to travel extensively throughout the world.

The successful candidate should have a minimum of 5 years' experience in a similar post, preferably in a commercial or promotional activity, together with a high level of motivation and initiative.

Applicants should send their CVs to: The British Development Council, 157 Waterloo Road, London SE1 8JU. Tel 01-428 8601.

Closing date for completed applications, Friday, March 22, 1985.

Ref 2919

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MICRO SCOPE

requires a

NEWS REPORTER

To join the team on the UK's leading micro computer trade journal which is going weekly in April.

You will already be a news writer and you're looking for an opportunity to expand your skills and get to grips with the fastest moving industry ever. An interest in micro computers is an advantage, although training will be available, since our main requirement is for a writer who will learn the industry fast.

Opportunities for travel abroad to cover the major shows and exhibitions will increase as you become a key member of our team.

Starting salary £8,000.

Send C.V. and samples of your work to: Jerry Sanders, Micro Scope, 14 Rathbone Place, London W1P 1DE, or telephone 01-631 1433 for further information.

EXPERIENCED EDITORIAL ASSISTANT

Lloyd's of London Press require an experienced Editorial Assistant for the monthly journal "Lloyd's Ship Manager," in offices within a few minutes walking distance of Liverpool Street Station.

Following a recent substantial increase in editorial coverage which now spans management, operational and technical subjects and market information, of interest to those who own or manage ships and those in the associated equipment and services industries.

The Editorial Assistant's duties involve copy editing, subbing, and layout work, in addition to a certain amount of original writing. Basic subbing and journalistic skills are essential, but some understanding of and/or interest in the Marine Industries would be beneficial.

An ability to work under pressure is vitally important. The journal provides considerable opportunities for career development, which may include the possibility of foreign travel. An attractive salary package is offered commensurate with experience.

Please write or call in confidence to: Personnel Manager, LLOYD'S OF LONDON PRESS LTD, Sheppan Place, Colchester, Essex CO3 3LP.

Artline

THE TELEPHONE INFORMATION AND ADVICE SERVICE ON ARTS AND LEISURE GREATER LONDON FOR PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

REQUIRES

THREE WORKERS

Normal starting salary £10,068 per annum inclusive. To work with the director in considering and developing Artline. All workers will be involved in telephone advice, research and campaigning work. Each will also be expected to have one or more of the following skills:

- oral and written communication
- use of computers for information purposes
- co-ordination of volunteers
- publicity and marketing

Knowledge of arts leisure and/or disability networks an advantage. For informal discussion telephone Spencer Hudson, 01-458 1288 after 6.30 pm or at weekends. Write for details and application form to Artline, 8 Cromwell Road, London NW1 1TU. Closing date Monday 1st April. An equal opportunity employer.

ART EDITOR / JACKET DESIGNER

Severn House is looking for an Art Editor/Jacket Designer to work on a varied list of books — fiction and illustrated non-fiction. A sound practical knowledge of photographic and reproduction techniques is required, with preferably studio experience in publishing. Good administration is also essential. An attractive salary is offered, plus usual benefits.

Please apply in writing with details of experience and current salary to Lucy Lloyd SEVERN HOUSE PUBLISHERS 4 Brook Street, London W1Y 1AA

DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY ARTS ASSOCIATION

DIRECTOR

A Director is required for this new Area Arts Association, the first in Scotland. Salary £10,728 on Scale A/P4. Closing date 12th April 1985.

Details and application form from: A Wright, Scottish Arts Council, 19 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh EH2 4DP (01-226 8051).

Faculty of Communication

Basic Radio Skills

Course BR57: 9-12 April, 1985.

Intensive, covering all aspects of radio from studio use to preparation of programmes for transmission.

Course fee: £120.00

Course BR58: Eight week evening course, from 23 April, 1985.

Course fee: £100.00

Course BR59: Two weekends, 4/5 and 11/12 May, 1985.

Content similar to BR57.

Course fee: £135.00 (including lunch).

Course BR510: Two weekends, 13/14 and 20/21 July, 1985.

Content similar to BR57.

Course fee: £135.00 (including lunch).

Course BR511: 15-19 April, 1985.

An introduction to the Professional Sound Studio.

Two days recording and mixing live music, one half day at a major London studio.

Course fee: £185.00

Course ENCA: 18-21 April, 1985.

Use of portable ENG-type equipment and video editing.

Course fee: £185.00.

Further details of all the above from: Northdown, Short Course Unit, P.O. Box 308, Regent Street, London W1R 6AL. Tel: 01-580 0039 (24 hour answerphone) or 01-580 2020, ext. 220.

THINK AHEAD TO THIS SUMMER

DRAMA STUDIO LONDON offers you

ACTING SUMMER PROGRAMME

July 22nd-August 16th (Minimum age 18)

and

ACTING FOR OPERA SINGERS

July 30th-August 2nd (Minimum age 21)

Acceptance by May audition

Phone 01-578 3697/748 for details

for details

for details

for details

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LONDON BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK BOROUGH DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

DESIGN ASSISTANT (Graphics)

£8,439 to £9,144 (Scale 5)*

The Department is seeking a Graphics Designer with the interest and ability to use these skills to communicate with the public.

The postholder, who will be within the graphics team, should have experience in preparing exhibitions, displays, printed literature and posters.

Familiarity with audio visual programme preparation is required as is the ability to sketch. A relevant qualification is desirable although not essential. The Council is keen to involve local people in its planning, decision-making and implementation process. Close working relationships with the separate consultation unit will be therefore a major part of the job.

* (The salary on which a pay award is pending is inclusive of £1,248 London Weighting).

Southwark is an equal opportunity employer. Applications are welcome from candidates regardless of sex or ethnic origin and from registered disabled persons. Telephone 01-701 2870 (24 hour answering service) any time for an application form, or write, on a postcard to: The Personnel Officer, London Borough of Southwark, 25 Commercial Way, London SE15 6DG.

Please quote reference G/45301 and job title.

Last date for receipt of completed application forms: 2nd April, 1985.

ENERGETIC AND READY FOR A CHALLENGE?

MIL Research, Britain's largest independently owned market research group, has openings for two management people for its growing telephone research facility.

The successful candidates will have demonstrated management and organisational skills, work well with large groups of people, and have the ability to respond quickly to changing priorities in a flexible environment.

Some market research experience a plus, but not essential for those willing and able to work hard and learn quickly.

Are you interested? Apply in writing giving details of relevant qualifications, knowledge and experience to: Director, Telephone Research, MIL Research Ltd., 1 & 2 Berners Street, London W1P 3AG

SALES CO-ORDINATOR CITY

GALLENKAMP, a member of Pisons Scientific Equipment, manufactures and supplies a wide range of laboratory apparatus and equipment, and sells to universities, hospitals and industry.

To bring our Southern Region Sales Office to full complement, we require a Sales Co-ordinator to work as part of a team, servicing the South of England.

Duties will involve telephone sales, VDU input, and general clerical back-up. The successful applicant should be educated to 'O' level standard and ideally have obtained passes in Physics or Chemistry.

Previous experience gained through a busy Sales Office environment is preferred, together with a confident telephone manner.

We offer an attractive salary, full product training and generous group benefits as associated with a large progressive company.

INTERESTED? Telephone Mrs S. K. Barnett on Loughborough (0509) 231188 for an application form or write enclosing C.V. with salary expectation to:

Personnel Department, Pisons Scientific Equipment, 15000, Southwark Road, Loughborough, Leicestershire LE11 5BQ

ADVERTISING AGENCY INFORMATION SERVICES

LIBRARIAN

We are in the process of evaluating our current information services with a view to developing a departmental, automated information system.

We need a Librarian with enthusiasm and initiative to help us develop a system and set up new data bases, including putting the library catalogue on-line.

The candidate will be a qualified Librarian with at least three years' post-qualification experience in a commercial environment, ideally in marketing or management. Experience of on-line information retrieval, as well as an interest in indexing and classification is essential. General computer literacy will be an obvious advantage.

Salary is negotiable dependent on relevant experience. Excellent working conditions.

For further details please telephone 01-629 9486 and ask for Patricia Oliver.

ONE

requires someone who is design biased, experienced in selling and book-keeping, able to liaise with customers, run the Covent Garden showroom and find our phone number and address.

Monteverdi Choir/English Baroque Soloists/Monteverdi Orchestra

(Artistic Director: John Eliot Gardiner)

ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR

required from August 1985. For further information, please write to: The Administrator, MONTEVERDI CHOIR AND ORCHESTRA LTD., The Bowring Building, PO Box 145, Town Place, London EC2A 4EJ

Closing date for applications Friday 29th March, 1985.

WEDDING DAY & FIRST HOME

STAFF WRITER / SUB EDITOR

Due to an increase in magazine size, we now require a talented and versatile journalist who can combine creative flair with meticulous attention to detail to join our small lively editorial team. Salary £7,500-£8,500, depending on experience.

Editorial Secretary

To provide administrative and secretarial back-up. Short hand not necessary. Salary dependent on age and experience.

Please write, with CV, to: Gillian de Bono, Editorial Director, Home & Leisure, Weddings, 373-375 Euston Road, London, NW1 3AR.

RESIDENT TIE DIRECTOR

fixed contract available. Auditions in London and Manchester 20th and 22nd April. Recall in Hull 20th and 22nd April. Letter of application, C.V. and photo, by Monday 25th March. P.O. Box 145, The Bowring Building, PO Box 145, Town Place, London EC2A 4EJ. Tel: 01-629 9486.

for details

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for details

INFORMATION SERVICES DEPARTMENT

Senior Public Relations Assistant

Grade S.O.1. £9,669 — £10,299.

As Senior Public Relations Assistant you will be responsible for producing the Council's newspaper 'Harlow News' which plays a vital part in keeping the town's 80,000 population in touch with local services, community news and Council policies.

You will need to show a sound knowledge of layout together with an ability to produce crisp news and feature material on a range of subjects.

There will also be involvement in other areas of the work of a busy public relations unit.

Application form and job description are available from the Chief Personnel Officer, Harlow District Council, 17 Adams House, The High, Harlow, Essex. CM20 1BE. Telephone Harlow (0279) 446017.

Completed application forms must be returned by 22nd March, 1985.

HARLOW

Harlow is an equal opportunity employer and welcomes applications from both sexes irrespective of age, race, nationality, marital status or disability.

UPITN

INTERNATIONAL TELEVISION JOURNALIST

UPITN, the international television news agency, requires a Story Editor for its weekly current affairs programme 'Rising Report'.

Duties include research, production and writing of feature-length stories (8 to 25 minutes) on subjects of international affairs for a worldwide audience. A wide knowledge of world affairs and experience in writing for television news/current affairs are essential requirements.

The successful candidate will join a small, London-based team. Salary according to NUJ House agreement, currently approx £15,500 p.a.

Please apply in writing to:

Mr. J. W. Crossland, Manager, Documentaries, UPITN, 31-35 Folly Street, London W1P 7LB.

JUNIOR TECHNICAL EDITOR

The British Medical Journal requires a junior technical editor to assist in preparing manuscripts for inclusion in the Journal.

Applicants should have 'A' level English preferably a degree. Some previous sub-editing experience is essential and experience of medical/scientific sub-editing would be desirable.

Starting salary £7,839 (including London Weighting — review pending).

Please apply in writing, with full career details, to: Anne C. Zerton, BMA, BMA House, Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9JP.

An equal opportunity employer.

amnesty international

SUBSCRIPTIONS CO-ORDINATOR

to work as part of its Distribution team. She operates the computerised subscriptions, invoice and stock control systems for Amnesty International's publications programme.

Candidates should have experience of computerised record systems, preferably in publishing. They should be able to type, display meticulous attention to detail and enjoy working as part of a team.

Salary: £8630 p.a. (index linked — annual increments).

Closing date for receipt of completed application forms 8th April 1985.

For further details please send large size to Personnel Office, Amnesty International, International Secretariat, 1 Euston Office, London WC1X 8DJ or ring 01-537 3805 (24 hours) quoting ref PP1.

DYNAMIC GRADUATES

(CENTRAL LONDON) c. £8,500

The world of 'Advertising Sales' offers major career opportunities that do not require any previous work experience. For graduates aged 20 to 25, the choice of publishing companies is vast and it is vital to find the right one for you. We are recruiting for three major Publishing Houses — all offering extensive training, excellent promotion prospects and above all attractive basic salaries and commission schemes.

Now meet our ambitious, enthusiastic, self-motivated and have a burning desire to succeed in this creative sales environment. Once these are sales positions it is vital to "sell" yourself to our sales teams NOW on 01-536 1041.

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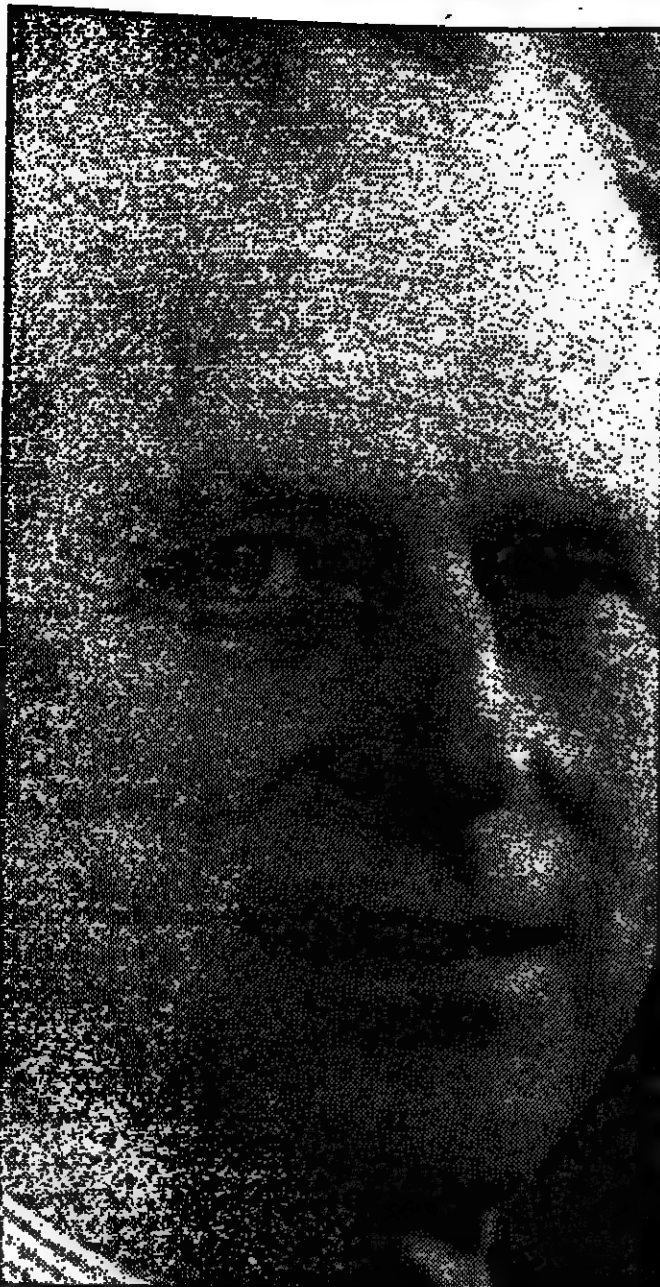
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TERRY COLEMAN crosses swords with the Duke of Edinburgh only 125 miles from Timbuktu

Where man is the truly endangered species



IN A dead forest with not a live tree in sight, where there was once water but where there is now only desert, in the West African state of Mali, about 125 miles from Timbuktu, a breeze miraculously arose and I could have sworn I heard the Duke of Edinburgh say something about Noah's Ark.

I went and asked him. "At least I'm asked, rather than just take it off the wind," he said. He then said Noah's flood had been a natural disaster, and now this drought was another disaster, and what could you do about a drought?

A day or two before I had visited two refugee camps in Mali where a lot of children are going to die. The famine is not remotely as bad in Mali as it is in Ethiopia and I don't want to suggest for one moment that it is, but many will die. In the face of Africa's disaster is probably the only choice, but all the same I asked the Duke again if he thought anything could be done. I had those children in mind.

He invited me to consider what would happen if more of the children in those camps survived, but with no more food to share between them. That is plain sense, but I asked if it was not a bit cold-blooded.

He asked whether I knew by how many people the population of India increased in a year. I did not know. He said it increased by 15 million a year—twice the population of London. Very well, but we were in Africa.

That was in the morning, there was then a four-hour drive by Land Rover across

● Prince Philip: "To be absolutely honest, conservation is not for the sake of man at all..."

the most ravaged bit of terrain I can remember seeing. I do not mean that it was as difficult to traverse as a mountain range, or as awesome as the great Australian desert, but it was across a plain where trees used to grow and fish used to be fished, but no more. Then we made a two-hour flight by light plane, and arrived at a small, remote village. The Duke and I were the only people there, and with some baggage lost, and no certainty of a hotel room, at the Malian capital of Bamako.

We were standing quite fitly in a hotel lobby when HM Honorary Consul came up, explained that the Duke had arrived before us in his Andover of the Queen's flight, that his press conference was at that moment attended only by two or three Malians, and would we please come quickly? In exchange, he fixed us a room, so that was fine, and we were about to leave the Duke when the Malians departed, leaving no one. End of conference. Sorry, we said.

Once I was in the room, removing filthy bush clothes, the consul came again. If I could find the other Englishman, and if he, the consul, could round up the Frenchmen who had come with us, please could we now meet the Duke? There is a certain deference to royalty which must be inherent in an Englishman, so I said certainly, delighted.

I changed into a decent suit, put on a cricket club tie, and went to the bar for a beer. There was the Duke also, the last man on earth I expected to find in the Timbuktu bar of that hotel. Since we had bumped into each other a dozen times already that day, I said, "Good evening. No, not now," he said, with the utmost irritation. I went and got a beer.

Then the press conference

began, two Frenchmen, two Swiss reporters, two Swiss cameramen, and me. The Duke was by then most affable and asked where my English friend was. I explained that he sent his apologies, and was rather ill. The Duke immediately sent his own doctor, which was kind.

I brought up the matter of Noah's flood and the present drought, which had been in my head all day. The Duke replied that some animal species were indeed simply dying out. But I said, the principal species about which we were talking was Man, wasn't it? "Speak for yourself," he said.

Well now, the Duke was touring West Africa as president of World Wildlife Fund, whose spokesman had stressed to me from Geneva that the fund's concern was not only with animals but also with men and women. The spokesman made a great point of this.

Furthermore, I had heard the Duke say to some French-speaking officials the day before that animals and human beings had to live together or die together. Furthermore, it stated clearly in the Duke's programme, "Visit refugee camps," and I had indeed seen him between the dead forest that morning and our conversation that evening spend 10 minutes looking round such a camp.

So I said, "No, I don't speak only for myself. Cattle are dying, which is sad, but people are starving." He replied that species were endangered all over the world.

"Yes, sir," he said, "the camp you visited today was one I had seen before, and the species endangered there is man." "You cannot," said the Duke, "describe that species as endangered. There are thousands of millions of them."

But I said, if half of those children were going to die

under the age of five, they were endangered, weren't they? "No, they're not. The population of this country is increasing by 3 per cent per annum. Do a calculation and you will find it will double in the next 20 years. You can't say that's becoming extinct. Come on."

So these people were not becoming extinct, I said, but surely they excited the pity of all of us. The Duke said lots of people were concerned. But wild species were becoming extinct. There were not many left of some species. Then he said, "That's not to take away from the need to be humane and to look after people. But there are specialities in the world. Our speciality is the conservation of the natural environment."

I repeated what the World Wildlife Fund had told me that animals, plants and man made up one ecology. The Duke suggested that the spokesman in Geneva had known me and told me what I wanted to hear. I said he had not known me at all, and I had not known him.

"In the end," said the Duke, "the conservation of nature is for its own sake. To be absolutely honest, it's not for the sake of man at all. But in order to make it more palatable to a lot of people, you have to say, you know, we've got to co-exist, and we'll be interested of our grandchildren and so on... Why do people protest about whaling? How many people in this world are ever going to see a whale? And yet they march up and down protesting against whale hunting. Why? You tell me."

I said that in my experience they were mostly professional protesters. At this point you couldn't honestly say that relations between us were cordial, but they were never as acerbic as this transcription would seem to

show. I have never known a man get irritated so easily, and I'm damned if I'd have liked to have served as a sub-lieutenant on any ship of his. But his mood can change rapidly to sweet, moderate cheerfulness.

Anyway, the French then entered the conversation, and the Duke explained to them that you can compare the effects of the drought to those of a volcano that had exploded. But more people died after man-made disasters like civil wars. Disasters, like wars, were mostly made by men. The French having finished for the moment, the Duke turned to me and said, "You still aren't happy?"

I said I had thought about what he had said that morning when he told him half the children in that camp would die under the age of five, and he had said yes, but had then asked what would happen if the children died. "Say 25 per cent," he suggested. "Something like that," I said. And then I reminded him that I had asked if that wasn't a bit cold-blooded, or at any rate if the facts were cold-blooded.

The Duke then said, in exasperation, "I will stop talking to you about the frightful facts of life. I will tell you what you want. I would like to give my aid to those people if it would help them. Would that make you feel any happier?"

I said it was not that I wanted to feel any happier. It was that I wanted to understand him. I did feel (though I didn't say and now think I should have said) that there was nothing to choose between our views on the matter, so what was all the controversy about?

Was he, I asked, saying that there was nothing, or very little, that one could do about a drought? "No," he said, "better if there were only 5 per cent pregnancies and all the children lived."

I said my capacity to do anything was infinitely smaller than his. He said, "The World Wildlife fund is not established to look after refugees. It simply isn't for that purpose. Now, my daughter, with the Save The Children Fund, she occupies herself with it. I was president of Oxfam or something, then I'd be concerned about this thing in an institutional way. I'm concerned about it in a personal way. You've got to stick to your last."

"OK," I said. The Duke laughed.

There followed two or three more questions from the French journalists. Then, at the end, I said that Mr Bush, Vice-President of the United States, happened to be coming to this same spot the next day. (Indeed, we were using a room next to the White House press centre for our talk at that moment). Bamako was a distant place, and they were due to miss each other by about two hours. Were there any plans for them to meet at all?

"I saw him in Washington last year. You ask him: he'll give you the answers you want." I suggested that one did not ask questions with the answers necessarily already in one's mind.

"I know the answers you don't want," said the Duke. "That," I said, "is highly unfair." The Duke laughed and went out in a mighty good mood. Next morning he left before Mr Bush arrived.

That was on Saturday. Yesterday the Duke was in Senegal, which is quite another country in every way. At an embassy reception in Dakar he came up to me. We were both cooler. "Been thinking about that 50 per cent," he said. "Better if there were only 5 per cent pregnancies and all the children lived."

When star wars comes down to earth

HELLA PICK, in Geneva, on the prospects of a US-Soviet agreement

IT IS unlikely that any major arms control negotiation has been approached with so much gloom and nervousness as the US-Soviet talks which open tomorrow in Geneva. It is more likely to prove a cover for a continuing arms race than become a forum for striking deals between superpowers for strengthening strategic stability.

Nato knows that the present decade of uneasy co-existence between the two superpowers is fragile. His "Star Wars" programme, even in its research stage, remains highly controversial, and is certain to complicate the agenda. The West Europeans fear that it will delay, and possibly block, agreement on medium-range or strategic nuclear weapons. Thus, the US strategy at the Geneva talks, with its determination to search for a defensive system based on space weapons, already looks as it will run counter to West European interests.

The Soviet Union will exploit every opportunity for dividing Nato and using Geneva for appealing to the uninvited participants and public opinion, in making its case against the militarisation of space. The Americans have demonstrated that they too are girding themselves for propaganda warfare.

Pessimism characterises the confidential assessments being made in Western Europe by defence experts, politicians, academics who specialise in Soviet affairs, and those familiar with the inner sanctum of the Reagan administration. One of Britain's foremost strategic experts says: "The best that can be expected is that the two superpowers will manage to declare failure amicably, without making US-Soviet relations still worse." A Western diplomat says: "This time round, logic on the Soviet side, so that their propaganda against space weapons will be far more justified than their campaign

against cruise and Pershing missiles."

The objective of the negotiations as defined in the joint statement is "to work out effective agreements at preventing an arms race in space, and terminating it on earth; at limiting and reducing nuclear arms, and at strengthening strategic stability." Both sides envisage "the complete elimination of nuclear arms everywhere." But only the Soviet side stressed the importance of preventing the militarisation of outer space.

Since Geneva, the US administration described a very different route to the elimination of nuclear armaments. It has used every opportunity since the Shultz-Gromyko meeting to assert that space weapons provide an historic opportunity for a new approach to strategic stability. In place of nuclear deterrence, based on MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction), the superpowers should join in mutual defence based on

weapons either in space, or on earth, capable of shooting down weapons as they cross space.

Mr Paul Nitze, the US Chief advisor on arms control, has rationalised this approach in a terse agenda which has already become an article of faith with the US negotiating team.

He proposes that "for the next 10 years, we should seek a radical reduction in the number and power of existing and planned offensive and defensive nuclear arms, whether land-based, space-based, or otherwise. We should be looking forward to a period of transition, beginning possibly 10 years from now, to effective non-nuclear defence forces, including defence against nuclear arms. This period of transition should lead to the eventual elimination of nuclear arms, both offensive and defensive. A nuclear-free world is an ultimate objective to which we, the Soviet Union and all other nations can agree."

President Reagan's own approach to space weapons is almost mystical. Already for close on two years, when he first surprised his own collaborators with an unscripted conversion to "Star Wars," Mr Reagan has seen the search for space weapons as a moral crusade to protect each and every American—and maybe also their allies—against a nuclear holocaust.

No one with access to the President apparently dares to dissuade him of his faith. But not many of the US advocates of space weapons share his assumptions. Some certainly accept that the new technology, if it can be developed into effective weaponry, could play a major role in defending nuclear missile sites and specific targets, but they doubt that it can ever be a blanket fail-safe cover.

Others in the administration underwrite Mr Reagan's campaign for funds to finance a research blitz into space weapons, because they see this

as an instrument of exhausting the economic resources of the Soviet Union, of reducing Soviet military power, and ultimately humiliating the other superpower.

European leaders suspect that this latter school is dominant in the administration. But in any case, it is beyond doubt that the Kremlin tends to believe that the tone of US rhetoric may have softened, but that the administration's goal of weakening "the evil empire" has not really changed.

The Soviet Union has its own space weapons research programme, and may be ahead of the Americans in some respects. The Americans claim that the Russians have already violated the 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty with their radar at Krasnoyarsk.

But the Russians obviously do not want to switch from the nuclear deterrent, which has confirmed their equal status as a superpower and kept the peace for 40 years.

They do not want to have to find the huge resources that would be needed to match US technological progress in space weapon research, and later in testing and deployment of space weapons.

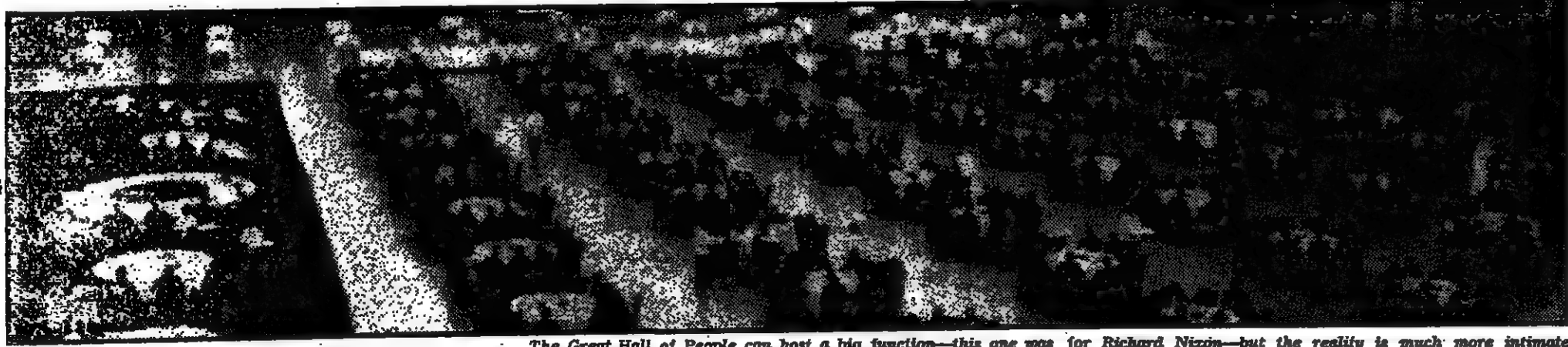
They fear that space weapons would unravel the present strategic balance, create an instability in the superpower relationship, and ultimately give the Americans genuine superiority. So the Russians campaign vehemently against space weapons. They assert that they would increase and improve their offensive nuclear missiles, in order to neutralise any US advances in defensive space weapons. They would build weapons systems capable of penetrating the US defensive net.

Western European governments privately concede that they see more logic in the Soviet case than in Mr Reagan's justification of the Strategic Defence Initiative. They have further reasons to be concerned by the US pre-

occupation with space weapons.

In spite of US reassurances, they doubt that any amount of research could devise a space weapons safety net that would encompass western Europe as well as the United States. This leaves them more exposed to the Soviet threat, and requires greater effort to be made into conventional defences. It would make nonsense of the British and French nuclear deterrent.

The European allies appear to have little hope of being able to change Mr Reagan's mind. Paradoxically, they are pinning much of their hopes on the Soviet Union. If the Russians eventually offered "radical" reductions in strategic or medium-range nuclear arms, then perhaps President Reagan, still anxious to have an arms control treaty to his name, might be prepared to adjourn his voyage into space, and settle for an honourable place in heaven.



JOHN HOOPER with Lord Young and the British trade delegation to China

The hard sell in the land of eastern promise

A BANQUET in the Great Hall of the People in Peking conjures up visions of a cavernous expanse filled with rows of grey-suited officials. The reality is more intimate. The hall, which looks all-in-one piece from outside, is divided into 27 function rooms.

The Anhui Room, where the welcoming banquet for Lord Young's special trade mission to China, and Hong Kong was held on March 1, is no bigger than the average hotel restaurant. But the intimacy is itself deceptive, because a Chinese banquet is governed by strict rules.

For a visiting delegation, the most important are those regulating the toasts in this oversized glass-lined liquor rather like dry-cleaning fluid.

After the speech of welcome, the host—who in this case was China's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, Ma Guohua—will come Chen Muhua, a well-known businessman, to each table in order of precedence, drink glasses with the visitors, and then say "Gan bei" (approximately "Cheers") to the table as a whole.

The table as a whole, the chief guest, after the speech of gratitude, should, however, do no such thing. Lord Young, it seems, had not been told about this and after finishing his speech, he picked up his glass and set it on the nearest table. A gift for the nearest table?

In Shanghai, a garbled version began circulating in the Guardian, published in the Guardian, and in Canton Sir Eric Sharp, the chairman of Cable & Wireless, announced it at a press conference attended by the British Ambassador and the Chinese press officer to the Cabinet Office. Next morning, by which time he had

seen the text, Sir Eric withdrew his remarks.

But by the time the mission left China, the most aggrieved section of the party was made up not of the press but the company executive accompanying the members of the delegation, most of whom had spent long periods in China, or were based there. In a phrase that speaks volumes about the Foreign Office attitude to commerce, these often eminent businessmen were described in official messages as "the bag carriers."

They clearly felt that their treatment, separated from their trade and their business, formed a cynical, grumbling rearguard, only too happy to talk to reporters about embarrassing incidents such as the one in which a pedestrian was knocked down by the official cavalcade as it made its way through Shanghai. From beginning to end, the spirit of the venture was one of good-natured amateurism.

The visit also saw four of the 11 firms, represented by letters of intent that could lead to valuable business for Britain. But this was no ordinary trade mission and cannot be judged by the standards of one. It was launched at the behest of the Prime Minister to capitalise on the new climate between China and Britain created by the Hong Kong agreement, and its members, whom Lord Young describes as "the most high-powered business team we've ever had on a trade delegation," were left in no doubt about the importance which Mrs Thatcher attached to it when she briefed them at No 10 before setting off. One said afterwards that she had put "the fear of God" into him.

Lord Young told the press conference before leaving Britain that his team would conclude—not start—a number of deals that have been under discussion for some time.

Given the composition of his team, most of whom come from firms involved in heavy industry, that was an entirely unrealistic expectation.

He honestly thought that we could come out here and sign on the dotted line for things like power stations. Good God, almighty, the technical specifications alone can take a year, said one executive.

The negotiations that have reached the stage where there was a decent chance of an order were those that British Aerospace has been conducting for the sale of its Bae 146 airliner.

Mr Thatcher's "goodwill" mission should travel around China in a 146 British Aerospace plane, prepared to put up a large share of the £150,000 or more that it would have cost to hire one from the BAP, but the Government could not find the money to make up the difference.

MARTIN WALKER in a Moscow park

Buddy can you spare a rouble?

THEY COME on skis, are hauled along on sledges, browse with skate stung over their shoulders, or just trudge through the woods in the snow. Bitza Park is to southern Moscow what Hampstead Heath is to North London, a stretch of country in the sprawling city. But Hampstead Heath has not yet spawned a sub-zero art gallery.

The fuss about the Bitza Park open-air gallery first surfaced in the Soviet press last autumn, when Sovetskaya Kultura published a snippy article about this "unauthorised initiative by so-called artists, some of whom present dubious themes."

What they meant was that without so much as a by-your-leave, amateur painters had started to display their pictures along one of the main pathways through the park. No permission from the Moscow city council or official blessing from the artists' union, no files with stamps of approval in the local office of the Centre for Public Creativity, which keeps a careful eye on all voluntary enthusiasms from pop music to pigeon fanciers.

The real problem was the "dubious themes." And indeed, when we first strolled along the 100 yards or so of paintings for sale, there were a handful of amateurish heads of Christ, two rather blotched copies of ikons, and one rather pretty Madonna. None of them was calculated to shake the foundations of the Soviet state, and they aroused far less interest among the curious Muscovites than the glutinous oil paintings of domestic pets. There were dogs with enormous eyes, cuddly cats, and kitsch kittens by the kilogram.

In Moscow, this is a lot of money in three weeks' pay for an average worker. And yet the paintings, being bought, even though this is a country which goes to considerable lengths to make cheap art available to the population.

On Gorky Street, the Moscow Union of Artists runs a gallery where you can buy ready-framed etchings of city scenes for under five roubles signed by the artist. The art of the Soviet poster may not be what it was in those heady-creative days after the Revolution, but they can be bought for coppers. Excellent prints of old masters, or ikons copied on to canvas are on sale for a few roubles.

But the Bitza Park Gallery, which has thrived since the winter in defiance of Sovetskaya Kultura, has enough of the lure of forbidden fruit to prosper in spite of inflated prices. The place has now started to attract what the West would recognise as a faded hippy culture, people selling homemade candles and amateur jewellery. The trendy interest in Zen Buddhism among Moscow's young people is reflected in the Netsukis and carved Buddhas on offer from velvet-lined suitcases.

Nina was a small, thin girl, her pinched face almost lost in the fur hood, and she said it took her boyfriend a couple of hours to carve a Buddha, which she could sell for 20 roubles. She said three as I watched, two to teenagers, and one to a middle-aged man with a pretty girl on his arm.

"I used to sell them round Targanka, in the cafes where the students go, or in the pet market," she said. "No spot ever lasts for long. The police move you on, but this place has been good all winter. People come to see the paintings and want a souvenir. If they can't afford a painting, they buy a Buddha."

The world may pay for America's expansive policies

Brian May

TOMORROW Russian and American negotiators meet in Geneva for talks about arms control. At the top of their agenda will be the potential developments in space. The controversy over President Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative centres chiefly on its feasibility, and on whether it will start a new arms race or put an end — by making them obsolete — to nuclear weapons altogether.

But it is perhaps more important to emphasise that the Star Wars project is closely linked with the current US administration's foreign policy (which, in turn, is a manifestation of the long-term expansionist trend in American history). For at the heart of the policy is the belief that it is America's historic mission to bring private enterprise to the whole world. Only such a system, Reagan argues, can abolish global poverty.

Essential to this American dream is the eclipse of the Soviet Union, which Reagan hates with a religious fervour not altogether absent in Western Europe. A step to that end would be the freeing of Eastern Europe from Soviet pressure, which Reagan foreshadowed in his

speech last August about Yalta. "Let me state emphatically," he said then "that we reject any interpretation of the Yalta agreement that suggests American consent for the division of Europe into spheres of influence. On the contrary, we see the agreement as a pledge by the three Great Powers to restore full independence and to allow free and democratic elections in all countries liberated from the Nazis."

This declaration sharply contradicted the Sonnenfeldt doctrine of the early 1970s, which recognised Russia's interest in the cordons sanitaires it had established after the war as a condition of detente. But it would be a mistake to imagine that Washington's profound shift, or reactivation, of emphasis (which was initiated in Jimmy Carter's time by Zbigniew Brzezinski), resulted from a mere change in mentality at the top.

Two powerful factors have been at work. The first is the continuing dynamism of American expansionism, a process that has been going on for more than 150 years. The second is America's growing superiority in the precision and effectiveness of its armaments.

This accumulating harvest is the product of the lavishly financed, irrepressible inventiveness of American military technology. With a mo-

mentum of its own, it determines foreign policy more than it arises from it, and increasingly tempts Washington to "shape a world," as Kissinger put it. Into this pattern falls America's plan to secure the liquidation of Russia's buffer system in Europe — and the 30-year-old Star Wars plan is its logical concomitant.

For what the United States would need for this purpose is sufficient strength, first, to threaten war, secondly, to launch a war limited to Europe, and, thirdly, in the last resort, to fight a total war, which some of Reagan's advisers believe can be won. The existence of an anti-balistic missile defence would fit neatly into this picture. It would enable Washington to say to Moscow: "We can hit you, but you can't hit us — or not nearly as hard."

It was probably this kind of thinking that made the late Lord Salisbury feel, 30 years ago, that America was a greater threat to peace than Russia. The recently published 1954 Cabinet minutes reveal that his particular worry, shared by other ministers in the Churchill government, was that "the United States might decide to turn the East-West issue to a head while they still had overwhelming superiority in atomic weapons, and were comparatively immune from attack by Russia."

Today it is comparative immunity that the Reagan administration is seeking, by means of its Star Wars programme. We should be sceptical about the research label. The aim is deployment of the US administration is evident in the Pentagon's admission, following a leak to the press in January, 1983, that it was planning to make itself capable of waging an extended nuclear war, with weapons fired from outer space, and to drain the Soviet economy by staging military confrontations.

This, at any rate, is the way the Russians are bound to interpret the purpose of the Star Wars programme. Reversing pressure in Western Germany — is hardly designed to reassure them either. Whether or not the Russians are threatened, they think they are. They could easily become desperate. They claim that they can knock out nuclear weapons in Germany with conventional missiles, and the questions they are almost sure to be asking are: "Should we try now, or wait until it may be too late? If we launch a conventional attack, to remove the missiles would be the West's first use of nuclear weapons?"

In looking towards Europe, the United States administration is right in its timing,

for it is exploiting a moment of historic development. While Russia strives to hold its buffer system together, Eastern Europe is increasingly hoping for greater autonomy. But this contradiction produces great danger of war. One British politician who has noted dangers is Lord Mayhew, who has floated a Russo-American disengagement proposal aimed at satisfying East European aspirations while taking into account Russia's concern for its security. (Agenda, September 17, 1984.) The Russians, it should be remembered, warmly supported the idea of disengagement in the 1950s.

Unfortunately, whatever the Russian view may be now, the idea is unlikely to fit in with America's expansionist tradition.

It is a tradition with a long history, for the United States began to expand soon after its foundation — sweeping across New Orleans, the Florida, the Louisiana, the Texas and the Great Southwest. In the 1890s it looked further afield and urged an Open Door in China, to deprive Europeans of their trade concessions, and the Ottoman Empire as we expanded our economic malaise by opening up fresh markets and investment outlets; and it would weaken the Soviet Union po-

litically and strategically. The trouble with this prospect is that Western Europe could be devastated in the process.

Meanwhile the United States is forging ahead in the arms race on the utterly fictitious pretext that it is the Soviet Union, not itself, which is expansionist. Russia set up its cordons sanitaires after the war because it feared the countries of the West, particularly Germany. Its actions in Europe since then may be shown easily to be defensive. For one thing, it has actually reduced, not extended, its control over European territory, as Alan Clark, a member of Mrs Thatcher's government, has reminded the Commons.

But the American danger is real, well rooted in history and increasingly feared. As David Steel has said, many Europeans wonder whether their security lies in an administration that too often seems aggressive and lacking in self control. In a nuclear age, this is an extremely serious charge.

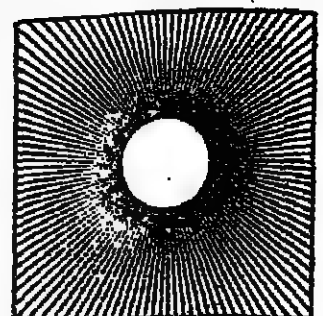
Brian May is a Liberal member of the Joint Commission on Defence and Disarmament set up by David Steel and David Owen to frame recommendations for the 1986 Liberal and Conservative assemblies. He is the author of *Russia, America, the Bomb and the Fall of Western Europe*, RKP, 1984.

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FACE TO FAITH

Donald Norwood

WE HOPE the church will not let the nation down. The MP was referring to the VE commemorations this May and still remembering the Falklands service in St Paul's which had pleased the nonconformists, but not those, like himself, who expect the church to behave like the Church of the English with no nonsense about prayers in Spanish or silence for the Argentinian dead. The Church of England is above all the national church.

Reformed churchmen should still see this as its chief duty: that the Church of England is a national church. But in the more self-confident days of dissident dissent there were so many other things to complain about. What was the righteous indignation of nineteenth-century nonconformists was not that Anglicans were so English but that they themselves were not allowed to be. They could not be members of the English Parliament or belong to the ancient universities. They could not bury their own dead in English churchyards or marry their children. The words of Dr. Cunningham's study of Dissent in the Victorian novel, *Everywhere Spoken Against*,

The trouble was that dissent and nonconformity were successive qualities. Members did not conform to the Church of England as by law established, but what did they affirm? Even the old watchwords, "the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control," the title of the society formed with that object in 1844, lack the positive, campaigning appeal of today's "liberation theology." They were not out to free the church for the sake of the poor, or to denationalise the church for her supra-national and international responsibilities.

A positive corrective was supplied by the Congregationalist theologian, P.T. Forsyth. Forsyth, like most eminent Nonconformists in this century, was no longer very interested in disestablishment. But he did care deeply about affairs of state, even more for the state of the church and above all for the Kingdom of God.

For him, Christian love in international terms meant the summons to see that each man and each nation could enjoy the free and humane life to which they had a right. So the first world war took on for him the character of a moral crusade, not because British interests were threatened, but because Germany had invaded Belgium neutrality. As churchman he declared: "It is an ignominious thing for any Christian nation to take the rape of Belgium with superior indifference." — or plous detachment.

Such high sounding convictions sound peculiar today in a nuclear age, but we should not lose sight of this passion for international justice which is a consequence of Forsyth's high churchmanship. He re-centred these strong theological ideas on civil responsibility and the local church as the outcrop of the great world church and church of all the ages.

These beliefs are re-expressed in Daniel Jenkins, *The British: Their Identity and Their Religion*, and with him we return to the positive Reformed critique of a national church, the rest of the world.

Jenkins notes that "such an outstanding Anglican and Englishman as Bishop Bell of Chichester," the friend of Bonhoeffer and the resistance movement in Germany, the critic of our saturation bombing of Dresden and other German cities, was looked upon with disfavour by his fellow Anglicans because he was so interested in ought to be able to say of the Church of England, most Anglicans believe, what a national newspaper said in its obituary notice of Archbishop Randall Davidson: "He gave perfect expression to public sentiments on national occasions." In short, he did not let the nation down.

But what about the nations? Disputes about disestablishment now seem so parochial and trivial in a world so dangerous. But the church in each place should be a multinational community is very much to the point. Forsyth still makes me a dissident but with a challenge to my own domination. He says that Rome herself was so much of the great powers to give a prophetic lead in world affairs. The Church of England was too nationalised and the Free Churches too rationalised. The demand, then, as now, was for a faith and churchmanship big enough to embrace the world.

Rend Dr Donald W. Norwood is minister of the United Reformed Church in the ecumenical parish of Wolvercote with Summertown, Oxford.



OUT OF COURT

David Pannick

MR JUSTICE Cardoso (a distinguished judge of the US Supreme Court earlier this century) explained that "for quotable good things, for pregnant aphorisms, for touchstones of ready application, the opinions of the English judges are a mine of instruction and a treasury of joy." The "report" of Lord Bridge, a Law Lord, on aspects of telephone tapping is, by reason of the limited terms of reference, far from a mine of instruction.

But it will certainly bring joy to the Treasury and to all other Government departments. Its finding that since 1970 Ministers have obeyed guidelines in issuing warrants for interception of communications is a political issue. One legal issue that is equally controversial is whether the Government should use a senior judge to inquire into and report upon such matters.

One can understand why the Government should wish to use an eminent judge such as Lord Bridge to conduct an inquiry into aspects of telephone tapping. He is Chairman of the Security Commission and so is knowledgeable about security affairs as anyone outside MI5. He can be relied upon to assess the evidence presented to him with a lawyer's eye for what is relevant to the specified issues. His status as a judge implies impartiality and independence of the executive, thus making his report more authoritative than that of a mere bureaucrat.

It may well be in the public interest to ask judges to conduct inquiries into certain issues. What is disturbing about the nature of Lord Bridge's report is that all the evidence is secret and his reasoning cannot be subjected to critical analysis. What is made public is nothing except that a judge has reached a certain result. The only purpose of the inquiry, therefore, is for the Government (and its predecessors) to be able to claim that criticisms of telephone tapping are unjustified because a judge has blessed State action.

Lord Bridge has had his judicial status misused by the Government for blatantly political purposes. He has (no doubt unwittingly) been brought into the political arena as a symbol to reassure a public doubtful of the propriety of Government actions in the field of telephone tapping.

The Lord Chancellor — usually so quick to condemn perceived threats to judicial independence — needs to explain how the use of Lord Bridge is compatible with the independence of the judiciary from the executive and the immunity of the judiciary from political controversy.

It is strongly arguable that judges are rarely qualified to conduct inquiries into matters of policy. Their legal training too often results in them adopting a narrow approach. It judges are to exercise their talents out of court they should not allow the state to usurp their authority to bless politically controversial and secret activities of the executive.

David Pannick is a barrister and Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.

The numbers game that adds up to a division

ENOCH POWELL

IN 1985 the then Labour Government, in flat contradiction of their professions when in opposition, saw themselves obliged not only to retain the Conservative Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 but to tighten up its application. For all such reversals a political face has to be paid by making a simultaneous gesture in the other direction. The one which the Labour Government paid was destined to be costly for the nation: it was to introduce into the law of the United Kingdom a concept hitherto unknown to it, the concept of "race".

Until that insignificant piece of legislation in 1965, long since overlaid by subsequent layers of more voluminous legislation, the law and the courts of this country had been blind to race: they made no such difference between one citizen and another, and another. Thenceforward they were admonished to classify them under the law according to their race.

It was a bitter and ill-conceived decision, bound by its nature to exacerbate differences which were already conscious and to make perceptible differences which had until then been ignored. Since the purpose was to make no such difference before the law, the consciousness of difference now enforced was calculated to create mutual rancour and suspicion.

I am not saying that without this legislation such rancour and suspicion would not have existed, given the consequences of New Commonwealth immigration, unrestricted before 1962 and more limited after 1962. I am saying that whatever rancour and suspicion would have anyhow existed were institutionalised and rendered more explosively divisive by the enforced classification of people by race.

These gloomy memories of 20 years ago are evoked by the sight of new veins through which the poison is being poured into the body politic. A spate of parliamentary questions, has recently established that the Government has decreed throughout the public service that it is to be "ethnic monitoring," which means the

enumeration of employees by race; the proclaimed purpose is to measure the scale and spread of racial discrimination, with the object of eliminating it. The rubric is "Ethnic Monitoring and Positive Action."

The law contains no definition of "race" — it would be for the courts to decide in particular cases whether or not there was difference of race — but it has been found to include the difference between Scots and English (whoever precisely they may be) and the Jews have officially been declared for the purposes of the law they are a distinct "race" — how, indeed, could they do otherwise? The government however has no intention, for reasons not difficult to discern, of discriminating between Scotsmen or Jews in its employment.

It has, therefore, for this purpose divided mankind into seven categories which, whatever else they are, are surely not races and would not be adjudged such by a court, even when described euphemistically as "ethnic groups." Here they are: White; West Indian/Guyanese; Indian; Pakistani; Bangladeshi; African; other Commonwealth. How the ghost of Hitler must wriggle with delight at watching Her Majesty's Government counting members of the "White" race! Beside it even the enormity of telling Poles, Lithuanians, Malays and that they are all of the same race as Chinese becomes almost supportable.

To enumerate employees by "race" however, is only the first part of the operation. The second is to ascertain whether there is racial discrimination. For this purpose the relative proportions in an employment have to be compared with the corresponding proportions in the population at large, either by locality or generally. So the whole population must be enumerated by race, even though Parliament under government guidance refused

to allow the 1981 Census to do so. Those of us who asked questions about numbers in years gone by were held up to public obloquy got "playing the numbers game"; but this is the numbers game with a vengeance — or perhaps not, for it turns out not to be a game at all but grim earnest.

If the two sets of proportions are found to differ — and of course they do — that is claimed to show the extent of racial discrimination, which positive action must be taken to eliminate. There is a "positive action" (as Enoch Powell would have said) about the "had logic" of the argument; but into its Procrustean mould people are going to be forced, until presumably whenever we look in society and its institutions in the economy and its activities, we shall find one general uniformity of ethnic percentages, steadily policed and jealously maintained.

One goal lies at the end of this road on which we in Britain are officially set; for in face of the multiracial intractability of human wishes and endowments there is only one instrument of sufficient power to enforce the requisite proportions. That is the gun, and the gun must be numerical quotas, by race, laid down everywhere and required to be observed upon pain of the blatant guilt of racial discrimination.

Once the crazy logic of this principle is accepted — and acceptance is implicit in "ethnic monitoring" itself — there is no limit to its application. An obvious area is electoral constituencies, because electoral constituencies will persist in refusing to reproduce the ethnic proportions of the electorate. The deduction will be drawn that there ought to be quotas of seats reserved to members of the respective ethnic fractions and compulsorily filled up by separate voting lists.

It used to be regarded as rather far-fetched when I

ventured to predict that some 50 seats in the House of Commons would be claimed by right of quota for ethnic minority representatives of ethnic minority electorates. But this very week a former Cambridge fellow not only advocated that very thing in *The Times* but recommended it as advantageous to the Conservative Party, while the Labour Party has on its hands a bitter internal running fight against local parties who wish to set up "black sections" to ensure appropriate proportional representation in terms of race right from the bottom of the hierarchy up to the Parliamentary party.

These are symptoms of approaching crisis; for where numbers are political power, as, supremely, in Parliament, the numbers game of ethnic monitoring and quotas becomes a matter of life-and-death that will disturb even the pacific complacency of the British public, which has been content, with no more than private murmurings, to observe and spread of this epidemic folly.

Dr Scruton flies in the face of human nature when he imagines that 50 or 60 MPs differentiated from and privileged above the rest by race will not know how to use that capability to attract power from the rest who are bidding and counter-bidding for their votes. Power exists to be used where it can be seized and its practitioners are ready learners.

The builders of the Tower of Babel were destroyed by differences injected into them from outside. We on the contrary have prepared the downfall of our own Tower of Babel by insisting on enforcing differences upon ourselves. The present generation's manic preoccupation with "race" has turned the law into an instrument of mutual alienation, and by a bitter irony has deepened the differences which it attempted to wish away into dangerously entrenched divisions.

This speech was given to the Cambridge University Association annual dinner on Saturday.



Blind to race: Picture of the Notting Hill Carnival by Garry Weiser

Personal links at the heart of a family of nations

Geoffrey Howe

TODAY is being celebrated in 49 Commonwealth countries as Commonwealth Day. It's a good time to think again about what the Commonwealth stands for — in 1985. And there's plenty to think about. What is it, for example, that gives the Commonwealth its special character? Can it adapt to new challenges? And what is Britain's role in its future?

The Commonwealth is a unique association of independent states. It has rightly been described as a family of nations, all of which look to the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth. Its members are bound together by shared values and associated activities are characterised by informality and friendship. And all countries are keen to join; in the past four years it has gained five new members, the most recent being Brunei. How is this success achieved?

My own personal experience of the Commonwealth goes back a long way. Almost 40 years have passed

since I spent two years serving with African troops in Kenya and Uganda. The Swahili that I learnt then has now rusted away, but could still (just) be pressed into service during my visit to Nairobi earlier this year.

Fortunately I had no need of it when, as Chancellor, I took part in four meetings of Commonwealth Finance Ministers and as Foreign Secretary I attended the last Heads of Government meeting in New Delhi in 1983. For me these and countless other contacts with Commonwealth leaders over the years have created bonds of affection, trust and understanding. The same is true for all those who participate in such meetings.

These personal links are at the heart of the Commonwealth's vitality. The frank exchange of views which we always have leads not to the dull uniformity of a Warsaw Pact communiqué but to a real appreciation of other countries' concerns and attitudes. One side-effect of this is that when we meet in other contexts — the IMF and the UN, for example — we do not fall into the trap

of caricaturing each other's positions, even when we disagree.

These personal links don't apply only to politicians in the Commonwealth. Ordinary citizens from all over the world can be brought together through participation in the various activities undertaken or sponsored by the Commonwealth. Friendship and people gain a better awareness of each other's views.

The principles on which the Commonwealth operates were set out formally in the Singapore Declaration of 1971. It remains a valuable document, but more important by far is the fact that all members of the Commonwealth share the same basic values and are committed to working together to sustain them. In other words the principles of the Commonwealth can and do affect our daily lives.

The existence of the Commonwealth also brings tangible benefits to all members. In the political sphere Zimbabwe is a good example. The 1979 Lancaster House Settlement owed a great deal

to the successful Heads of Government meeting at Lancaster which preceded it, and the benefits have been felt throughout Africa.

Economically, three quarters of the Commonwealth is covered by the Lomé Convention, and it includes more than half the Convention's members. This helps to ensure that Commonwealth interests are given due weight whenever the European Community considers its relations with the wider world. The Commonwealth countries concerned benefit greatly from the Convention's aid and trade provisions. Here as elsewhere the existence of the Commonwealth as a grouping means that its members' collective influence is greater than the sum of the individual parts.

These are some of the factors which explain why the Commonwealth today is in such good shape. But can it adapt to meet the challenges of the changing environment of the late 20th century? An confident it can. It has shown itself to be capable of organic growth. Flexibility has always been a characteristic of the Commonwealth's activities. We are

not hidebound by rules and procedures. All this bodes well for the future.

But if the Commonwealth is to develop further, one thing above all is essential. We must ensure that enthusiasm for it and belief in its values are transmitted to the younger generation. It would be a mistake to take for granted that they will automatically share the attitudes of their parents.

That is why I attach such importance to the activities which bring young people from all over the Commonwealth together. I think of the 40,000 Commonwealth students now in Britain who will take home technological or other expertise of great value to their countries. They will come to share our political values as well.

Sport too has a part to play. We look forward to the next Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh in 1986. And in the Arts as well cooperation and competition, drawing on the cultural and linguistic heritage which we have in common, can do much to create bonds between young people. The various institutions of the Commonwealth have an essential role in fos-

tering all these activities; and so do national governments.

All our Commonwealth friends know that Britain does not aspire to any form of hegemony within it. How could we? But we are conscious of our responsibility to continue our major contribution to every area of its work. Many Commonwealth bodies are based here: examples include the Secretariat so ably led by Sonny Ramphal, the Commonwealth Foundation, and the Commonwealth Institute.

For all these reasons I am confident that the Commonwealth will be as relevant in the 1990s as it is to the 1980s. Its continuing success will be a mystery to those who have not lived with it and seen it at work. But to all of us inside this family of nations, today is a day to recall the many benefits, tangible and intangible, which the Commonwealth brings. It is an opportunity to reaffirm the importance in today's troubled world of preserving the values we share and of sustaining the institution which does so much to promote them.

Sir Geoffrey Howe is Foreign Secretary.

Watch out South Africa when the Americans decide to set the ball rolling



AMERICAN NOTEBOOK

Alex Brummer

ONE OF the most extraordinary aspects of American political life is the speed with which apparently fringe causes can be catapulted into local and national legislative action. Few political observers paid much attention to the small, earnest groups of anti-apartheid demonstrators who began to gather outside the

South African Embassy in Washington last November. South Africa was seen largely as an issue for Black Americans who in reality were surely more interested in their own problems of high unemployment, poverty in the ghettos and civil rights than the more fundamental struggles of their distant brothers in another continent. How wrong it is to think that the South African issue is a national media with a pack instinct and a few converts among the high and mighty on Capitol Hill oppression and apartheid in South Africa rocketed to near the top of the national agenda. Less than six months on leading members of Congress from both parties are struggling with questions of sanctions legislation: major cities such as New York are refusing to do business with anyone who does it in South Africa; the American public is being forced to face moral and political questions about their operations under an apartheid regime which apparently have never occurred to them before. Indeed, the important issues

which America is wrestling with today Britain could be debating tomorrow. While American direct investment in South Africa is significant it is dwarfed by British involvement. At \$2.3 billion at the end of 1983 the US's direct investment in the white laager represents at least 1 per cent of the total of America's vast assets overseas. This compares with Britain's direct investment of \$8.7 billion, or 55 per cent of the foreign investment in the former commonwealth country. Even so the US investment is by no means insignificant. In certain key sectors of the economy notably petroleum, computers and the car industry the Americans are a dominant force. If sanctions were to force an investment cut-off it would cause serious dislocation and deprive the country of technology which is basically undisturbable elsewhere. There are, however, several distinct schools of thought in the United States. The Kennedy-Weicker approach, now encapsulated in the bill pre-

scribed to both houses of Congress which seeks to pressure Pretoria by sanctions which would inhibit new American investment in the country. There is a second approach subscribed to by 126 or so companies who have agreed to the so-called Sullivan principles. This seeks to change the ways of Pretoria by example. Companies which adhere to Sullivan in effect voluntarily agree to their firms of apartheid both in the workplace and at home. In the workplace they might desegregate the looms and offer comparable wages for Blacks and whites and outside the companies assume more responsibility for housing conditions, education and the like. The anti-apartheid movement has gathered momentum in recent months a further step has been added by the Rev Leon Sullivan, a Black Baptist minister from Philadelphia who is the father of the code. Companies who have signed on to the Sullivan Code — effectively protecting themselves from boycotts and the like at home — must also lobby vigorously within South Africa against the apartheid system. A provision which has caused some considerable disquiet among some signatories. The third — flat-earth — school of thought exemplified by the Reagan Administration is "constructive engagement." This rules that economic sanctions are not the way to pressure your allies to change, however abhorrent the apartheid system may be. What is needed is some quiet but severe diplomacy which the White House argues has already worked in for instance, bringing freedom to some snarled trade union leaders. Sanctions it is argued will only hurt those who need foreign investment most — the Black majority. As anyone who followed the saga of Britain's sanctions against Rhodesia after Mr. Smith's declaration of UDI in 1965 knows there is no such thing as a leak-proof economic barrier which is going to bring a nation to its knees. The objective then of sanctions is to bring greater political pressure to bear on the apartheid system which appears to be the objec-

tive of the Kennedy-Weicker bill. Without doubt it would, if passed, also lead to some economic disruption. The ban on the sale of kruggerands, for example, would be a further body blow to the gold market at a time when the superdollar has already sent many a gold-bug close to ruin. Furthermore, the ban on new direct investment would in effect cut the subsidiaries of American companies in South Africa off from the flow of outside finance. Without this their operations would stagnate and they might begin to pull out on their own accord. There has been some evidence of the pressure which can be brought to bear in the last month. The Ford Motor Company, clearly concerned that its extensive operations in a racist society could backfire in other markets, announced it was selling a 60 per cent stake in its produce positive cash flow for Anglo-American Corporation. At the time of the sale in February Ford won assurances from Anglo-American that it would continue to adhere to the Sullivan principles—even though it was technically no longer an American-owned firm. Similarly the recent decision by Citibank, the world's largest financial institution, to refuse any future bank loans to Pretoria or South African government agencies demonstrates the enormous pressure which sanctions can exert. Citibank's decision was taken under the threat of new ordinances passed by the City of New York which offered the bleak choice between doing business for the city or for racialist government on a far off continent: not surprisingly Citibank chose Mayor Koch. To the extent that companies like Ford, Citibank and others have begun to assess their investments in South Africa on moral and political criteria, as well as profits and losses, sanctions or even the threat can clearly serve to isolate an outlaw government. But whether it can force a change in policy is a matter of dispute. A study carried out by the Washington-based Institute for International Economics found that in the majority of cases where economic sanctions were imposed in the

Intervention ploy to dampen currency's rise meets success

Central bank sales of dollar disguised

By Christopher Huhne, Economics Editor

The full extent of central bank selling of the dollar since the agreement of the Group of Five leading industrialised countries in January is being disguised by a ploy which can leave their published foreign exchange reserves unchanged. It is understood that a part of the intervention which has taken place to dampen the rise of the dollar, with considerable success on February 27 when the pound rose by five cents, was in fact in other currencies than that of the central bank concerned. Thus the Bank of England, by selling dollars and buying German marks, can both weaken the American currency, and ensure that there is no short-term change in the value of Britain's foreign exchange reserves as they appear in the monthly figures from the Treasury. Similarly, the West German Bundesbank can sell dollars for sterling without any effect on its foreign exchange reserves. An additional advantage of such intervention at one remove is said to be that there is less likelihood of domestic monetary effects, though these depend crucially on the nature of the reason for intervention. What could amount to a clever accounting ploy to disguise the extent of intervention from the markets does not, though, change the fundamental position of the central banks to deal with a further surge of the dollar.

Property firms join the queue at BES

By Tony May

In recent weeks, there has been a spate of property companies seeking to raise money under the Business Expansion scheme, which offers tax relief in exchange for an investment in a brand new and risky ventures. A year ago the Chancellor acted to stop the flotation of companies holding agricultural land as these were regarded as passive — non trading — activities contrary to the aims of the BES. Now Forestry

Fraser's Smith salary doubles

By Geoffrey Gibbs

THE salary of the House of Fraser chairman Professor Roland Smith has been doubled to £100,000 following a review of the remuneration of top directors of the Harrod's department stores group. The increase, which took effect from the beginning of Fraser's new financial year in February, will be shown in documents setting out details of the £616 million takeover bid being mounted by the Egyptian Al-Fayed brothers. The former offer is due to be sent to shareholders shortly. House of Fraser Director Mr Ernest Sharp said yesterday that the pay rise had been agreed by an executive committee of the board and dismissed suggestions that either Professor Smith or the Al-Fayed had played any part in the decision. Professor Smith joined the Fraser board in August 1980 on a part-time basis at a salary of £50,000 a year. Although the realities of running Fraser during the intervening period of conflict with Mr Tony Robinson's Lonsdale group mean he has been a full-time chairman in all but name, his salary has not previously been altered. "The committee did not feel that going from £50,000 to £100,000 after almost five years was over-egging the pudding," commented Mr Ernest Sharp. He added that Professor Smith was still not in the pension scheme or the company's profit-linked share plan. Kleinwort Benson, the merchant bank acting for the Al-Fayed, have meanwhile again categorically dismissed senior's suggestion that the brothers are acting as front men for the Sultan of Brunei in making their 400p share bid. "This is a red herring put out in order to try and get the secretary of state to refer the bid to the Monopolies Commission," declared Kleinwort's John MacArthur last night. "Mohamed Al Fayed has long standing connections with Brunei. He knows the Sultan and the Sultan's father very well and there is no doubt that he did act on behalf of the Sultan's purchase of the Dorchester Hotel," he acknowledged. "But it is absolute nonsense that the money is coming from Brunei. The company, from Fayed family funds that have been accumulated over generations and been wisely invested."

Hottest Seat in Town. See page 20.

Step-up investment call

By Michael Smith, Industrial Editor

British industry, especially engineering firms, have been urged to step up their investment in advanced manufacturing techniques to create jobs and boost their profits. The case for more widespread use of advanced manufacturing technology (AMT) has come from a special working party of government, industrialists and trade unionists at the National Economic Development Office. In a preliminary report, the group says that improvements can be achieved in "virtually every business ratio" through the AMT involves using computers in the design and manufacturing of goods, as well as overall more automation of machining, handling and warehousing. The working party, chaired by Victor Osola, warns that competitor countries are harnessing new manufacturing technology which poses a serious threat to British firms. The report says that a firm's costs will be cut because AMT reduces staff numbers, material costs and general overheads. While firms with state-of-the-art equipment are expected to show a fall in workforce, the report points out that with realistic projections of output growth, the numbers employed will increase and new skill opportunities will open up. The group has so far examined only engineering firms engaged in "batch production," which accounts for around 70 per cent of total UK engineering output. But its findings indicate "significant improvements" in operating profits and illustrate that capital investment in AMT could produce positive cash flow for firms after only three years. However, the Osola report emphasises that firms are suspicious about the benefits of AMT and worried about the capital outlay. A study carried out by a seven-point plan of action has been drawn up, centring largely on promoting greater awareness of the benefits of AMT and making sure that the Department of Trade and Industry maintains its grants for AMT development.

Gloves off as banks seek custom

By Margaret Dibben, Money Editor

Bitter competition among the banks to attract personal customers has broken through the gentlemanly edicts usually maintained in the City. The Midland Bank, promoting free banking for all customers in credit, is accusing the other banks of using delaying tactics when customers ask to switch their accounts to the Midland. So, the Midland has changed the wording on the transfer form that the customer completes and sends to the bank to say: "Please give effect to this transfer immediately and without entering into any correspondence with me in this matter."

Lloyds gives budget advice to Lawson

By our Economics Staff

Those in the City and elsewhere urging the Chancellor to tighten his borrowing target of £7 billion next year in order to impress the foreign exchange markets are mistaken, says Christopher Johnson, Group Economic Adviser at Lloyds Bank says today. Writing in his regular monthly bulletin, Mr Johnson argues that the Chancellor will stick to his £7 billion target — allowing net tax cuts of £1.1 billion — though even this

BT network stretches

By our Financial Staff

Work starts this week on another 14,000 miles of fibre-optic cabling on the nation's phone network. British Telecom's latest programme, costing £9 million, is to connect the new programme of the links will be less than 10 miles long. Until recently the user of the laser-

Chinese defector sets up chip shop in UK

By Peter Large, Technology Correspondent

A Chinese microchip researcher who quit the People's Republic for California 11 years ago is the latest Silicon Valley entrepreneur to set up shop in Britain. Godfrey Fong, now aged 37, formed Weitek, a specialised chip design company, with two Chinese colleagues in 1981. The firm's patient research-based start, then sudden take-off, form a classic of the Californian pattern. Mr Fong's parents emigrated to the US before 1960. He stayed on to look after his grandmother. When he left on his grandmother's death, he had been in charge of microchip research in Shanghai for six years. He said at the weekend that he had decided to quit because of "the family, the freedom," and the fact that he was "locked in professionally" in China. Weitek (the "wei" means microscopic) has now set up a UK branch in Basingstoke. The company produces chips that speed up the arithmetical work of high-speed "number-crunching" computers. The immediate market was the military and the scientists, but that is now spreading into signal processing for computer graphics and telecommunications.

Weitek illustrates most of the Silicon Valley factors that few European start-ups seem to be able to control in one bundle: (1) The spin-off effect: Mr Fong had been with Hewlett-Packard for six years when he and two other H-P technologists, Dr Edmund Sun and Dr Chi-Shin Wang, branched off on their own. (2) The management: They immediately decided they needed a president who combined a technical background with the proven business management record. They lacked so they recruited Dr Arthur Collymer from Calma. (3) Venture-capital courage: Although Weitek's specialised market depends on patient development work and may not last more than a few years, all chips.

The reason is that the omnibus chips now being made from the mainstream industry, combining all the parts of a powerful computer in one silver of silicon, could incorporate the specialised arithmetical logic functions of Weitek's products. Mr Fred Pielt, Weitek's new UK head and a Scot, estimated that the weekend of the launch of the new chips will have to be talking to the bigger market depends on patient development work and may not last more than a few years, all chips.

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10 per cent Conversion Stock, 2002	11th April 2002	19th November

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BANK OF ENGLAND LONDON 8th March 1985

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Prices head downward

COMMODITIES

Robin Stainer

PRICES of many soft commodities are on the retreat. Sentiment in the cocoa market has been decidedly bearish within the past few days, tea prices last week fell to a seven-month low and the gradual decline of coffee continued. Sugar's prospects, meanwhile, remain as gloomy as ever, with the price only just above the recent 15-year low. Supplies of plantation crops are not more freely available than they were just a few months ago and the picture is unlikely to change much in the short term at least. West African cocoa production is up sharply this season, after the poor 1983-84 showing, when a severe drought resulted in serious crop losses. The region's main producer — the Ivory Coast — is expected to bring in a record 1984-85 crop, with Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon likely to do significantly better than in 1983-84. All the signs are that Brazil's main crop has turned out bigger than first forecast and recent good weather has boosted prospects for the second crop, which begins in a couple of months. Total 1984-85 production in Brazil, in fact, could easily reach a record, while Malaysia's harvest this year seems certain to be the biggest ever. Within the past month, the US Department of Agriculture has revised upward its original estimate of 1984-85 world production by four per cent, representing an 18 per cent improvement on 1983-84. Most analysts now think that this season's output will be more than adequate to meet world demand, although consumption appears to be sharper than many experts thought likely a few months ago. Trade estimates of the surplus currently range as high as 50,000 tonnes.

Geoffrey Gibbs meets Professor Roland Smith, chairman of the House of Fraser

The man with the hottest seat in town

BUSINESS PEOPLE

"I FEEL a bit like a general without a war," beamed the House of Fraser chairman Professor Roland Smith last Monday. Sitting shirt-sleeved in the sunlit boardroom at the group's Army and Navy store in Victoria he was cheerfully looking forward to a new, more relaxed era in the department store group's recently turbulent history after reaching agreement on a £215 million takeover bid from the Egyptian Al Fayed brothers.

The agreement would, he felt, bring a measure of stability to the business and its 27,000 staff after the long years of warfare with Mr. Tiny Rowland's Loro group.

His moment of relaxation was short-lived. Proving his contention that he occupies the "hottest seat in town" fate, in the shape of the Department of Trade and Industry, intervened to throw the question of Fraser's future ownership back into the melting pot.

Before the week was out the DTI rushed out the recently received Monopolies and Mergers Commission report into the icky uncomfortable relationship between Fraser and its one time largest shareholder. The verdict: that a Loro bid would not be against the public interest.

This week the Trade and Industry Secretary, Mr. Norman Tebbit, will rule on whether Loro is being released from an undertaking given in 1981 not to raise its shareholding in House of Fraser above 28.9 per cent. He will also announce whether the Al Fayed bid is to go under the Monopolies Commission microscope. Those twin decisions, expected in the next couple of days, will determine whether the past years of head to head confrontation with the Loro boss are to continue.

Smith, a tough and jovial Mancunian, was brought on to the Fraser board in August, 1980, by Fraser's merchant bank advisers and long-time Loro antagonists S. W. Warburg after Mr. Rowland had conducted an abortive campaign to secure an increased dividend for Fraser shareholders. The appointment sowed the seeds of a battle in which, in spite of public pronouncements to the contrary, a personal animosity between these two larger than life businessmen has been plain for all to see.

The pressure presented by an opponent as tenacious and fearsome as Mr. Rowland might have broken some men. But Smith, who stands an imposing 6ft 4in, is made of sterner stuff and has come through the



Head of the House: "Get your tanks off my lawn"

ordeal with his sense of humour intact.

Indeed one of the dominant features of the clashes that have marked the recent history of our largest department store company is the robust good humour with which the Fraser chairman has conducted the long series of shareholders' meetings necessitated both by the company's own financial calendar and Loro's dogged efforts to "demerge" Fraser's flagship store, Harrods.

Seldom quick for a telling word his call to Loro to "get your tanks off my lawn" after the November 1982 EGM at which the Harrods demerger proposals were voted down has proved one of the more enduring phrases in a saga in

which the metaphors of battle have been all too appropriate.

Typically, he was not lost for words when the Monopolies Commission report landed on his desk first thing on Thursday morning. "There are more U turns in the report than a London taxi driver performs in Oxford Street," he said.

Born into a Lancashire mining family 56 years ago the Fraser chairman was educated at Manchester Grammar School and Birmingham University where he took a degree in economics. After national service in the RAF and a return to Manchester as a research fellow he was appointed Professor of Marketing at Manchester University at the academically tender age

of 36. He has held that chair for the past 20 years and has no intention of relinquishing the position whatever other commitments he may have to give up.

With a number of other company directorships to his name — he is chairman of Barrow

Rebourn, Senior Engineering and Readicut International — he has little time for activities outside the business and academic world other than indulging in an abiding passion for Manchester United, where he is a season ticket holder.

Until the Monopolies Commission ruling was announced at the back end of last week the Professor was by common consent comfortably ahead of his Loro opponent on points.

Since replacing Sir Hugh Fraser as chairman in January 1981 he has successfully frustrated Mr. Rowland's burning ambition to demerge Harrods while resisting Loro's inspired attempts to remove him and his tough, Lieutenant Ernest Sharp from the board.

At the same time he has presided over a strong improvement in House of Fraser's financial affairs. City analysts are predicting a record pre-tax surplus of £25 million or more for the year to last January when turnover of the business topped the £1,000 million mark for the first time. In the year to January 1984 House of Fraser made a pre-tax profit of £28.8 million on turnover of £956 million.

In agreeing to the Al Fayed bid the Fraser chairman last week delivered what appeared to be the knockout blow in the long running contest. The Egyptians, who already own 28.9 per cent of Fraser, secured, ironically, from Loro himself — are bidding 400p a share for full control of the group, a price few would have dreamed of even a year ago.

More importantly, they have stated their intention of retaining their holding — a pronouncement calculated to deter all but the Loro-like youngsters from contemplating a counter offer.

"It's a big price relative to where we have been," says the Fraser chief, recalling that Loro sold its shares only last November for 300p and itself tabled a 150p a share bid four years ago.

He thinks that at 400p shareholders have done quite well — he adds with the evident satisfaction of a man who sees a job well done. "We have had five or six years of angst and difficulty and I would hope we can now get some stability. The business and our people deserve it."

Whether that hope will be fulfilled depends of course on the position taken by Mr. Tebbit next week. But in the event of the Al Fayed takeover going through, Smith is to stay on as full-time chairman, an appointment that acknowledges the role he has played in redefining the business.

Although he received a substantial rise in remuneration earlier this year it is clear that money has not been the force that has kept him in the Fraser hot seat. So what has persuaded him to keep going in the face of constant pressure from the disgruntled Loro camp?

"The only way you can survive is to believe in what you are doing," he says. "We have got the business moving in a sector that is not renowned for growth. It's coming right and I think the figures this year will be very, very good indeed."

Among his souvenirs is a badge bought at last year's Labour Party conference in Blackpool. It shows Mr. Arthur Scargill, shoulders back in swaggering self-confidence and wearing that famous peaked baseball hat.

The caption reads simply "King Arthur." It was, I was assured at the time, the most popular item being sold by the striking miners on their fund-raising stall.

There is also a tape of South Wales pickets, singing to the tune of that fine old hymn, Bread of Heaven. "Arthur Scargill, Arthur Scargill, We'll support you ever more," So much for the two great morally and intellectually austere traditions of the Welsh miners — Nonconformity and Marxism.

In context, spare a thought for the Queen who did (or did not) observe to Mr. Paul Routledge, the Labour Editor, of the Times in a private conversation, that the resolution of the strike was "all down to one man." It is easy to see how the confusion (if confusion there was) arose in Her Majesty's mind, and lucky Mr. Routledge was there to put her right.

Yet Mr. Scargill did perform like a one-man band until the final weeks of the dispute. Moore, McGhee, and Heathfield merely carried the begging bucket. Only when it was absolutely clear that the strike was doomed, did the rest of the NUM executive exert themselves and insist, lemming-like, upon being fully identified with the failure.

The majority of the NUM membership, in particular the youngsters from the militant regions, delighted in the personal style of leadership delivered by the King. So, Scargill did the King himself.

Mr. Michael Crick's invaluable (and generally sympathetic) Penguin Special, "Scargill" recalls the pleasure with which Scargill used to describe his Barnsley headquarters as Camelot. He was for years the self-appointed Mohammed Ali of the coal fields.

"Scargillism," the style and philosophy of his driving man, was uniquely responsible for channelling and focusing the resentment engendered by a century of failed fuel policies, by uncertain attitudes to the running of state-owned industries, and by the fear of mass unemployment. It was topped off by the widespread hatred of something ill-defined but easily identifiable — Thatcherism. Without the charismatic Arthur, the resentment would, quite simply, have found different outlets.

Parentally, those on the Left who do not care overmuch for any examination of power or personalities, might care to turn to Pichanov's nineteenth century Marxist classic, The Role of the Individual in History, which examines the phenomenon.

(It is said to have been Lenin's bedside reading in his final months when he was preoccupied by the fearful prospect of the rise and rise of one Joseph Stalin.)



WORKING BRIEF

John Torode

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pect of the rise and rise of one Joseph Stalin.)

But Scargillism was not — is not — merely a response to the failures of fuel policy, the broader failure of the British economy, and the consensus politics which accompanied it.

Scargillism is more particularly a revolt against the compromise style of union leadership going back almost half a century. The essential of Scargillism is utterly uncompromising consistency. Again turn to Crick. You will find Arthur banging on since the early 1960s about the need to fight uneconomic pits closures. You will find him banging on, too, about the sanctity of conference decisions.

When he ran for the presidency of his union he was already a well-known figure. He was the hero of the Siege of Salford and the Battle of Grunwick.

The campaign for the presidency he fought with absolute honesty. "What you see is what you get," as Walter Mondale used to say in a different context. Scargill even advised miners during his election campaign that, if they did not like his style, they would be better off voting for some other candidate. In the event he collected a thumping majority of an amazingly high turn out.

Until the final month of the strike Scargill boasted that he had not given an inch in negotiations. It was only when the full executive stepped in that compromise was imposed over his head — and rejected by the NCB as inadequate. Even on the final, fearful Sunday, Scargill still wanted the crumbling strike to continue. It was only his loyalty to conference decisions which over-ruled his stand — a stand taken, not

during the past 12 months but over 20 years and more.

No wonder there were tears and anger and utter confusion among the striking miners outside Congress House, as Arthur suddenly part of the consensus or still part of the resistance to it.

Or both at the same time? Mr. Scargill had been turned around by the only authority he accepted — the authority of a national executive and his delegate conference.

Was he to resign in disgust and lead a wildcat ramp? Was he of all people to form a breakaway union? To ask such nonsensical questions is to answer them.

Scargill is free to signal to his militants "We were robbed" — and robbed, moreover, by the enemies within the executive and the conference, by a "scab" regions like Nottinghamshire which voted to work through the strike, by "scab" miners in striking areas, and by other "scab" trade unionists. They stood by and saw the strike go down: they crossed picket lines and handed "black" fuel: they refused even to donate 50p a week to keep the miners' show on the road.

Of such stuff are myths and martyrs made. But only when there is an element of truth behind the mythology. The union leaders of the post-war world — all of them, without exception, left, right and centre — were men of the fudge-and-nudge world they had helped to create. It is a world in appalling economic decline.

Scargill went into the strike despising the compromising general council (from which he had resigned in disgust) and its then general secretary, Len Murray (as was) was not even allowed Scargill's home phone number.)

Scargill came out of the dispute his views unchanged. He still despises the union bosses and Labour's political leaders who make a virtue of "accepting" conference resolutions and then bargain them away or blandly ignore them in office. He is the industrial equivalent of the Labour activists who fought to establish the supremacy of party conference in the 1970s.

The union old guard varied between the highly intellectual and the appallingly thick. Some were deeply reactionary. Some were Communists. Quite a few were both. They embraced many of the worst moral statures and some right villains. Mostly they were just decent, concerned blokes doing their pragmatic best.

And there's the rub. Pragmatism involves what George Woodcock used to call "shoddy, shabby, shoddy compromise." Its only justification is economic success. Until we achieve that, pragmatism will come under repeated fire from the absolutists, Industrialists have not heard the last of Scargillism.

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Audit Commission report to fuel Tory backbench anger over money from asset sales

Council investment curbs 'waste millions'

By John Carvel, Local Government Correspondent

The audit Commission is about to produce a crushing indictment of how government controls of councils' capital investment are wasting huge sums of public money.

Summing up Tory backbench concern over the issue could have exploded into mutiny had the report been finalised before this week's Commons debate on ministers' latest changes in the local authority investment system.

The debate is about the Government's orders for curbing local authorities' rights to reinvest the proceeds of the sale of council houses and other

assets, which would deprive them of £1 billion of spending power in the coming financial year.

Many Tory MPs feel it is a betrayal of ministers' promises that councils selling property would be allowed to plough the money back into building new homes, schools and roads in a reasonably short time. The change puts into jeopardy many construction schemes and jobs in their constituencies.

A late drift of the commission's report says that there is little hope of preventing a crisis of dilapidation in council housing schools and roads unless the authorities' capacity to reinvest capital receipts is increased.

It predicts that the rules will not meet the Government's purpose of bringing public expenditure under better control and suggests that chopping and changing the investment system has caused waste and delay of building projects worth hundreds of millions of pounds.

The commission is an independent body, appointed by the Environment Secretary, to act as watchdog on the propriety of councils' finances and do what it can to improve value for money in local authorities' expenditure.

Its members include businessmen, as well as council representatives from the shires and big cities.

The report on local authority investment controls is not yet at the final draft stage. A commission meeting on Thursday reached broad agreement on sections criticising government policy but it was unhappy with some of the recommendations for reform proposed by its chief executive, Mr John Banham.

The report is expected to be published after Easter after a six-month investigation of the English local authorities, the billion-a-year capital expenditure.

It says councils underspent government limits by £1.4 billion between April 1981 and March 1983 and then overspent the limits by about £1.35 billion between April 1983 and March 1985.

These figures balance out over the four-year period but the variations have played havoc with national public spending accounts. The draft report says that the system is causing waste and inefficiency while failing to provide the Government with the degree of financial control it wants.

It criticises the Department of the Environment's time-consuming system for controlling many council investment projects. It says that a 12-month delay in an inner city council house renovation project caused by the system can add more than 20 per cent to costs because of inflation and temporary accommodation

charges for homeless families. Government form-filling alone can add per cent to project costs says the commission which questions whether this degree of central control is necessary or desirable.

The main attack centres on waste caused by the Government's frequent changes in rules and investment allocations. It says this results in projects being started without proper evaluation and with extravagant costs.

There will be a shortage of 500,000 homes and a council house repairs backlog of £15 billion by next year, which will create a crisis and another expensive programme of rushed construction, it fears.

Audits uncover abuse of NHS by consultants, says Meacher

By Ian Aitken, Political Editor

Mr Michael Meacher, Labour's social services secretary, claimed yesterday that an analysis of the audit reports of 17 health authorities shows widespread abuse and possible fraud by NHS consultants who also engage in private practice.

The analysis, he said, showed that there had been abuses, and perhaps even cases of fraud, in seven of the 17 authorities. At least 14 authorities had lost money as a result of failures to identify or charge for treatment of private patients.

Mr Meacher's allegations are the most detailed and specific so far made by the Labour Party in the long-running controversy over private practice within the NHS. The material raised doubts about whether private medicine could ever be properly regulated within the NHS, Mr Meacher said.

He challenged the Government to give an assurance that fraud revealed in the total of 37 health authority audit reports would be fully investigated. He called for the publication of all the reports in full.

The analysis of the 17 health authority audits available to the Labour Party claims that there has been a lack of control and direction over private medicine in 10 of the authorities. In six, the consultants directly concerned have been trusted to provide the information on when and how much to charge for private treatment.

In 14 authorities, says the analysis, there have been failures to provide proper identification of private patients, with a resulting loss of revenue to the NHS. It adds that the auditors pointed to a "substantial loss of revenue" in six authorities — Sheffield, North-east Essex, Darlington, Coventry.

Some highly prestigious institutions do not escape the Labour Party allegations, including the Hospital for Sick Children. It is among a group in which, according to the reports, "there is clear evidence... that some consultants are abusing the opportunity to practise privately as well as within the NHS."

The report goes on to claim that "in Sheffield, Darlington, Shropshire, South Tees, Nottingham and Oxfordshire there is unequivocal evidence that some consultants are pocketing private patient fees without repaying the NHS for use of NHS time, equipment or manpower."

Moreover, in Nottingham diagnostic work was carried out free for a private hospital. In Oxfordshire, a private hospital regularly borrowed a copy unit without charge. Instead, they made a "donation" to NHS staff amenities, the report says.

The analysis also accuses NHS administrators of serious failures of direction and control. Perhaps the most worrying, it says, was a case in South Tees where the chief ambulance officer warned that the use of NHS ambulances to take patients to convalescent homes was having an effect on NHS standards.

The officer pointed out that these journeys had been made 50 times in a single financial year. The warnings were ignored, says the report.

At the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children, the auditor found that financial control on private practice was "poor or non-existent" that there were no internal checks were in operation to ensure that money due to the authority was collected, and that a number of weaknesses were found which could result in loss or fraud.

At least three famous London teaching hospitals feature to a modest degree in the Labour Party accusations. It is alleged that few of the private outpatients at University College Hospital and the Middlesex Hospital were required to sign undertakings to pay for their treatment.

At the Middlesex, identification of private patients was left to the consultants. At UCH there had been a failure to notify all private patients in four departments.

PM starts task force for small businesses

By Ian Aitken, Political Editor

The Prime Minister has established a small task force of ministers under Lord Young, her newest Cabinet minister, to draw up an emergency package of measures designed to emulate the success of United States small business sector in creating jobs.

The move reflects Mrs Thatcher's growing infatuation with what she regards as an American economic success. Her mood of admiration for both President Reagan and his administration is now almost legendary among many of her Cabinet colleagues.

She has followed a series of lunches at Downing Street at which she is reported to have harangued ministers with accounts of the success of American policies in their own departmental areas, and to have issued them with crisp orders on how to reproduce that success in this country.

Two of her principle targets have been Mr Norman Fowler, the Health and Social Services Secretary, and Mr Patrick Jenkin, the Environment Secretary. The main theme has been the success of America's free enterprise system in stimulating jobs. Her enthusiasm stems from briefings she received from senior White House and US Treasury officials during her recent visit to Washington, in which the main emphasis was on the importance of small businesses in providing jobs at a time of international economic recession.

Perhaps intoxicated by the warmth of her reception by the two houses of the US Congress, and by the evident admiration of many ordinary Americans, Mrs Thatcher appears to have been more than usually carried away by the message. Back in Whitehall, she has been repeating it to any minister or official who comes her way.

The fact in her argument is that American experts told her that nine out of 10 of the 20 million jobs created in the United States in the past 15 years had emerged in firms employing fewer than 100 workers.

She is understood to add that two out of every three of these jobs were created in firms employing fewer than 50 workers. Her overriding message is that Britain has to do as well as the Americans, and that the task of the Government is to create the competitive conditions in which enterprising small businesses can flourish.

She has appointed Lord Young, her Minister without Portfolio, to head the task force of ministers and officials to draw up immediate plans to put this programme into effect. Their orders are to have proposals ready in good time for next year's Queen's Speech.

NUM broke after strike borrowing, Scargill tells rally

By John Ardill, Labour Correspondent

Mr Arthur Scargill admitted yesterday that the National Union of Mineworkers is, in effect, broke. All the money seized abroad by the constabulary was borrowed, and if returned would realise nothing he told a rally at Rugby, Staffordshire.

He estimated it had been costing £150,000 a week to keep the union running, without "a single contribution coming in." The NUM has been using unions to support the NUM with interest free loans and the Transport Workers Union said last week that it had lent the NUM centrally and regionally "several million pounds."

Both the TGWU general secretary, Mr Moss Evans, and the General Municipal and Boilermakers' leader, Mr David Bassett, pledged last week that their unions would not allow the fabric of the NUM to be destroyed. Mr Bassett said reviving the union was the first task of the movement.

Mr Ian MacGregor, National Coal Board chairman, bluntly confirmed yesterday that the board will not re-employ miners convicted of violence with a comment that "people are now discovering the price of insubordination and insurrection — and boy are we going to make it stick."

His statements in a newspaper interview which described Mr MacGregor as a "cock-a-hoop," and later on radio, were condemned by Mr Scargill as inflammatory and a recipe for catastrophe in the industry. The NUM president added that his members "will not accept destructive, draconian measures against them or to future of their pits and communities without resorting to industrial action."

Mr Scargill backed his threat with evidence from a Mori poll for Granada TV's Union World programme that 68 per cent of miners would support the union in taking industrial action to oppose pit closures on economic grounds in their own areas.

The poll also showed 57 per cent of miners in favour of continuing the overtime ban. The Nottinghamshire miners, who lifted the ban, worked the first overtime shifts for 16 months at the weekend.

Mr Scargill, urging miners to recommit themselves to the struggle which had "entered a new era," said the overtime ban would bring final victory. And he called for a four-day week in the industry to protect jobs displaced by new technology.

In contrast with his tough statement on reinstatement of convicted miners, Mr MacGregor was muted yesterday on colliery closures. He said the Government's policy of producing coal at an economic cost had been "very much the reverse" of jeopardised by the strike.

He said on BBC Radio's World This Weekend: "The aim has, I think, been achieved. We will now proceed to a period in which we move in the direction of working on the more economic production of coal."

Asked if this meant the pit closure programme he said: "There may be some closures involved but that's not new in the mining business. Coal mines do become exhausted and many times unworkable for other reasons and I think you will see there is no difference in the direction of working on the more economic production of coal."

Sackings inquiry demand. page 4; Letters, page 12



Viktor Karpov, the head of the Soviet delegation, speaking at Geneva after arriving for the arms control talks, which begin tomorrow. With him is colleague Alexey Obukhov

Doubts cast on Murdoch plan for evening paper

Continued from page one

agreement on manning levels and that agreement is at the moment a long, long way off. We welcome any plans for a new title but there has to be an agreement first." The national executive of Sogat 82 will meet today to discuss a report on News International's printing plans.

Mr Murdoch began negotiations with the print unions on manning levels at the Tower Hamlets plant, where he was coping to switch production of the Sun and the News of the World, two years ago. Last night, Mr Keys said he

doubted whether agreement could be reached by October, when Mr Murdoch hoped to start printing at the plant.

Private Eye is to reprint tomorrow copies of the edition it was forced to withdraw from sale last week because of reference it contained to Mr Cecil Parkinson, the former Conservative Party chairman, and Mrs Angela Mathew, his secretary at the House of Commons.

Mr Ian Hislop, the magazine's deputy editor, said last night they would reprint 100,000 copies of last week's edition, with the offending two paragraphs referring to Mr Parkinson taken out.

Relief as arms talks resume

Continued from page one

address this morning's session of the UN emergency committee on famine in Africa.

Mr Reagan having told Americans in his weekly radio broadcast that he needs his MX programme to show the Russians in Geneva that "the US is serious about defending itself," also wants key legislators to enjoy briefings from his negotiators in Geneva.

Without Mr Reagan's approval and company are telling the congressmen that the US position vis-a-vis the Russians would be undercut.

The 11 US senators include Senator Robert Dole, the Senate majority leader, who has presidential aspirations, as well as Senator Sam Nunn, who is the influential Democratic co-chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Others who want to have a small share in the action include Mr Richard Lugar, the Foreign Office Minister who has managed to time a speech at the UN Disarmament Committee to coincide with the signing secretary called on European governments to stand together and assert their opposition to President Reagan's Star Wars plans.

She has appointed Lord Young, her Minister without Portfolio, to head the task force of ministers and officials to draw up immediate plans to put this programme into effect. Their orders are to have proposals ready in good time for next year's Queen's Speech.

GLC votes for cuts

Continued from page one

which could legally finance them.

Yesterday he changed his position and explained that it had become clear that there was no majority on the council for refusing to fix a rate and that it was essential to avoid the possibility of a Tory cut budget.

Mr Livingstone was booed from the gallery as he urged acceptance of the maximum rate.

He begged colleagues on the Labour left for support, declaring: "We have no right to put on the line other people's jobs."

But the 10 Labour rebels en-

sured that the administration's budget did not pass. The Tories, who had been arguing on Friday for £200 million worth of cuts and a rate of only 29p in the pound, made great strides towards a compromise with Labour.

The Labour leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, yesterday described rebel councilors prepared to break the law over their budgets as "the fang of the Labour movement." The vast body of the Labour party recognised the need to stay in office rather than take the easy option of "cutting and running," he said on BBC Scotland's Seven Days programme.

THE WEATHER

Dry and sunny

A WEAK frontal trough of low pressure will approach N areas of Scotland, but a large and slow-moving anticyclone centred over England and Wales will cover most other areas.

London, at 6 am on 12th: Breeze light, dry, with some morning clouds. Wind NE, light. Local mist or fog. 1-11 (48-52F).

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